

## HOW TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF REUNION<sup>1</sup>

NOWADAYS one can hardly pick up a serious monthly Review, or any of the more expensive weeklies, without coming across an article, sometimes more than one article, bearing on the problem of Christian Reunion. Even the illustrated Sunday papers take an interest in the matter, and from time to time provide their readers with solutions to the problem furnished by people who are held to be mouthpieces of public opinion. The general impression is that all this seeking and striving after unity in religious matters is something begotten of the world-war, part of the general reaction away from strife and discussion in favour of universal peace. The Bishops of Peterborough, Zanzibar, and Hereford, whilst rejecting the "very common assertion that this change [from the stage of pious aspirations to that of practical politics] is due mainly to the war,"<sup>2</sup> nevertheless assign a very recent origin to the movement towards reunion. In their opinion "the year 1910 will possibly come to be regarded by the historians of the future as the *annus mirabilis* of the movement," because of the Missionary Conference at Edinburgh which imparted to the movement an impetus from abroad, and also because of the Resolution of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, in the United States of America, in October of the same year, which provided for the establishment of a Joint Commission to arrange for a World Conference on Faith and Order. Again, the first of the "Documents bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship,"<sup>3</sup> gathered together for the convenience of those considering the subject of Christian reunion at the time of the recent Lambeth Conference, dates back no further than 1916.

In all this there is a tendency to ignore the past and to treat reunion as though it were a new, instead of an old,

<sup>1</sup> A paper recently read to the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

<sup>2</sup> *Lambeth and Reunion*, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Published by the S.P.C.K., 1920.

problem. As a matter of fact, the Reformation had hardly set in before its chief architects, the very pioneers of disruption, assumed the rôle of champions of religious unity. Cranmer's ideal of "a true Catholicism throughout all Europe" differs little, if at all, from the "ideal of a united and truly Catholic Church" commended in their Encyclical Letter by the Bishops assembled at Lambeth as affording "a new approach to reunion."<sup>1</sup> Ever since Cranmer's day principles of disruption and aspirations for unity have gone hand in hand in this country, possibly because, as Mr. Belloc somewhere suggests, the English people lost the tradition of clear thinking at the Reformation. However that might be, in the centuries that have elapsed there have been innumerable theories of reunion put forward by men of good will who have striven to effect some kind of compromise between Catholic and Protestant principles. These various efforts, it seems to me, may be classified roughly under three broad headings:

1. There is, first of all, the appeal to the undivided church of antiquity.
2. There is, secondly, the appeal to what may be described as the least common denominator of Christian belief at the present moment.
3. There is, finally, the appeal to the living consciousness of Christendom and to inner experience.

I propose briefly to examine these three theories before approaching the problem from the Catholic standpoint.

1. The appeal to the undivided church of antiquity.<sup>2</sup> As an advocate of this method of approach to the problem of reunion we cannot select anyone more thoroughly representative than Bishop Gore. Thus in his *Basis of Anglican Fellowship* (p. 50) he says:

To accept the Anglican position as valid, in any sense, is to appeal behind the Pope and the authority of the medieval church

<sup>1</sup> *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> In fairness to the propounders of this theory I adopt their phraseology whilst protesting against its implications. The expression "the undivided church of antiquity" implies that there is no undivided church of to-day, and lends colour to the concept of a number of partial expressions of the Christian ideal as legitimately constituting, in their totality, a divided church of Christ. Such a concept obscures the real effect of heresy and schism, which is not to divide the church, but to divide sectaries from the church. In Catholic doctrine there is no place for the concept of a divided church. Unity is an essential mark of the church of Christ which consequently always was, is, and will be, undivided.

which developed the Papacy to the undivided church, and with the undivided church to Scripture as limiting for ever the articles of faith to the original creed.

Now there is something very seductive about this appeal to an undivided church of long ago until one asks the questions: what was this undivided church of antiquity? when did it exist? and when and why did it cease to exist? Here at the outset, in answer to the question what was the undivided church of antiquity, it will be well to clear away a common misconception. It is assumed by many that there was a time when all who professed themselves Christians did actually keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. As a matter of historical fact there never was such a time. Even in St. Paul's day there were incipient sects amongst the Corinthians, to whom he found it necessary to address the startling question "Is Christ divided?" (I Cor. i. 12, 13). From the outset the church was distracted by the weird and wild speculations of Ebionites, Gnostics and Encratites. A complete list of the heretics and schismatics who cut themselves off from the church of Christ prior to the first General Council of Nicæa would be a lengthy one. To mention only a few of the more notorious, there was Saturninus who perverted the Scriptures with his innumerable commentaries, and Basilides who denied the humanity of Christ. Before the middle of the second century Valentinus from Egypt and Cerdo from Syria were propagating their errors in Rome. A little later came Apelles, Potitus, Basiliscus and Synaros, each with no mean following. There were, too, Adoptionists and Monarchians, and later Sabellians with their errors on the doctrine of the Trinity, and Montanists with their rigorous views on the remission of sin. There were Marcionites, Novatians and some seventy different sects of Manichæans—all striving to rend the seamless robe of Christ, before the Council of Nicæa.

The appeal, then, is not being made to an actually undivided Christendom, since there never was such a thing. To what then is it being made? In reality it is being made simply and solely to the early Councils of that great historic church which, whatever else it did, unhesitatingly denounced and excommunicated heretics throughout the ages. That right is conceded to the church fully and freely in the matter of denouncing heretics who no longer exist—in her condemnation of Gnosticism and Manichæanism she wins the uni-

versal applause of Christendom. But as soon as the church touches live issues that self-same right is denied her, and a time-limit is set to her powers. Though the church was from the first invaded by innumerable heresies, apparently she is to be considered immune and intact until a heresy appears which has some affinity with the teaching of one or other modern religious body. Consequently we receive very different answers to the very pertinent question, when did the church cease to be undivided?

- i. Some, who accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, place the division at the sixth Œcumenical Council in 681.
- ii. More generally the line is drawn at the Council of Chalcedon itself in 451.
- iii. Others, with the Copts and Armenians, say the church ceased to be undivided at the Council of Ephesus in 431.
- iv. Others again, with the Nestorians, declare that it ceased to be undivided at the Council of Nicæa, and we have the authority of Dr. Jowett for the statement that a distinguished Anglican prelate once declared that the decisions of Nicæa were the greatest calamity that had ever befallen the Church of God."<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible then to get any general agreement as to when the church was undivided. Even so, we may proceed to ask a further vital question: in what sense do those who appeal to the undivided church accept the decisions of what they regard as the undivided church? What, for instance, does Bishop Gore mean when he lays it down that "the dogmatic decisions of the undivided church about the person of Christ have been truly inspired by the Spirit of Truth?"<sup>2</sup> Does this mean that the decisions are to be accepted as final and binding? One would have thought so, had not his Lordship proceeded to elucidate his meaning. He is careful to add: "These decisions are to be regarded as primarily negative . . . ; they leave us always in the position of men who go back for their positive information about the person of our Lord chiefly to the picture in the Gospels, and the interpretation of the Apostles." That is to say, his Lordship accepts the decisions of the undivided church as being divinely

<sup>1</sup> *Essay and Reviews: The Inspiration of the Scriptures.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bampton Lectures on the Incarnation.*



inspired, but nevertheless holds himself free to interpret them in the light of his own understanding of the Gospels and the teaching of the Apostles. This surely is a curious way of accepting decisions—a subjective method which can lead only to further divisions and subdivisions amongst those who practise it. It would seem, then, that the appeal to the undivided church of antiquity is not likely to furnish us with a satisfactory basis for Reunion, since, in the first place, there is no general agreement as to when the church is supposed to have become divided, and, secondly, because the decrees of even the earliest Councils are accepted with reservations of such a character as to render the acceptance “not negotiable.”

2. We may now proceed to consider the appeal to the least common denominator of current Christian belief. This popular idea has many popular exponents who present it in attractive guises. At one time we heard a great deal of the need for a “common platform,” but following in the wake of the League of Nations came the inevitable proposal for a League of Churches. Thus, Canon Streeter, writing in the *Daily News* four years ago, said: “The time is ripe for a League of Churches, and if organized Christianity is to make any contribution to the problems of our time, it must be formed.”<sup>1</sup> One fancies that the analogy between politics and religion, which at first gained favour for the proposal, ultimately gave it its death-blow. It is impossible to close one’s eyes to the fact that politics, even in the wider sense of Aristotle, are concerned with establishing relations which are essentially temporary, and largely, if not wholly, pragmatic; whereas religion is, or ought to be, concerned with the eternal and the true. The man-in-the-street feels that in religion, at all events, it ought not to be a case of “nothing continueth in one stay.” There he does expect to get a firm foothold of some kind. Hence the frank and open proposal for a round-table conference of churches committed only to the principle of barter and exchange has found little or no favour with people to whom religion is a reality. The proposal is more attractive when the principle is somewhat disguised. The recent Lambeth Conference furnishes a good instance of this tortuous method of approach. The pith of the Conference may be stated in the words of Dr. Headlam: “The Church of England has definitely stated that it is prepared not to insist upon any other formula except the Nicene

<sup>1</sup> August 27, 1918.

Creed, it gives up as necessary either the 39 articles or the Athanasian Creed." Here, though a dogmatic stand is taken, the principle underlying the statement is again that of barter and exchange. It is a case of *do ut des*, as witness the reception of the proposal by a well-known Congregationalist, who declared at the Geneva Conference last summer that "the Church of England has reached the last limit of concession which can be expected, and may reasonably ask that other religious bodies should receive their proposals in the same spirit of faith and good will in which these have been made."<sup>1</sup> But where is the guarantee that the last limit of concession has been reached? Who is to say that the whittling down process will not continue at future Lambeth Conferences? The effect of this most recent concession has been stated succinctly by one who is in full sympathy with the proposal and eminently qualified to speak: "Anglicanism as a model is dead," declares the Bishop of Zanzibar. And every religious body which enters into the scheme must merge its identity in mutual concession, possibly to the vanishing-point of all Christian belief.

Certainly there is no finality in the particular basis of reunion selected by the Lambeth Conference—the Nicene Creed. It is not, and was never intended to be, an epitome of Christian doctrine. "Bible Christians" will point out that the Nicene Creed says never a word with regard to the authority of the Scriptures, or the nature and extent of inspiration; on the other hand neither does it exact belief in a divinely appointed episcopate, the priesthood or the sacramental system. Are all these vital points to be waived simply because they find no place in an ancient creed which was drawn up to meet the needs of an epoch when Christians were united on many of the questions which are most hotly disputed at the present day? By many it is tacitly assumed that the Nicene Creed is a complete presentation of Christian belief in the year 325 A.D. Yet it is difficult to understand how any serious student of history can make such an assumption. To the Nicene Creed in particular we may apply the profound saying of Abelard with regard to theology in general, that it owes its development to the challenges of the heretics, without which it would never have reached its firmness and precision. No one can doubt that the Nicene Creed would have been different had the third and fourth centuries

<sup>1</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1921, p. 154.

been distinguished by controversies as to the nature and constitution of the Church, instead of by Christological controversies. For the simple reason that the Nicene Creed does not touch many of the most vital issues of the present day it is useless as a basis of reunion. Surely there is no religious body laying claim to the name Christian which does not, in its own sense, subscribe to the Nicene Creed already. Obviously it is not the creed, but the interpretations of the creed, which matter, unless agreement between the different religious bodies is to be merely on paper. Even taking the Nicene Creed as a basis, we are forced back upon the necessity of some living voice to interpret it, and to interpret it in the light of ever-increasing scientific and philosophical knowledge.

To the Catholic mind there is a fundamental misconception underlying all such proposals. If, indeed, Christianity is a divinely revealed religion, as it professes to be, it follows that Christians are not at liberty to bargain and barter amongst themselves as to how much, or how little, of that revelation they shall accept. Though her position be strictly logical, the finality of the attitude of the Catholic Church towards revealed truth is, in many quarters, either not sufficiently recognized or sadly misunderstood. Thus, the Bishops of Peterborough, Zanzibar, and Hereford, in their brochure, *Lambeth and Reunion*, say:

With regard to the Roman Church nothing more can be recorded than a change of personal relations. The position is summed up in the words describing the reception by the Pope of the deputation visiting Europe and the East on behalf of the Commission of the World Conference on Faith and Order. The Pope "received us most cordially. He answered most distinctly. The contrast between the Pope's attitude towards us and his official attitude towards the Conference was very sharp. The one was irresistibly benevolent, the other irresistibly rigid" (p. 29).

Here, as elsewhere, there is no recognition of the fact that the rigidity is not a matter of choice or of policy, but, from the standpoint of Catholicism, as much a matter of necessity as the rigid attitude of every sane man towards the multiplication table. As yet, in this country, many zealous workers for reunion have not grasped the fact that the principle of barter and exchange in doctrinal matters, however attractive it may sound to English ears, is positively blasphemous to

those who believe that no one has a right to tamper with the deposit of revealed truth. We, at least, hear ringing in our ears the charge of St. Paul: "keep that which is committed to thy trust" (I Tim. vi. 20).

3. There is, in the third place, the appeal to Christian consciousness, to inner experience, and to the subjective values of Christianity.

Those who advocate this method of the inner approach insist that if formulæ unite they also divide, and that consequently they are better eschewed. Thus, Canon Bindley, at the Modern Churchmen's Congress at Cambridge last summer, said boldly: "We need to find out, not a formula, but a temper—not a Creed, but a Faith—which is common to all, and which underlies all, and supports all, and inspires all."<sup>1</sup> We are reminded of Huxley's famous dictum, "Agnosticism is not a creed, but a method," and in both cases it is a method which leads inevitably to doubt and disbelief. The aim of reunion, we are told, is to include, not to exclude, and hence says Canon Bindley: "We need a confession of faith in which the essentials are implicit, rather than a Creed which attempts to make them explicit." Definition is to be avoided as trammelling freedom of thought and lowering subjective values.

It is generally recognized that the last twenty years represent something more than the conventional dawn of a new century. Already a new spirit, elusive and perplexing, is discernible in life and literature. It is difficult to describe and impossible to define, but if the thirteenth century stands out as the golden age of metaphysics, and the seventeenth as heralding the reign of the physical sciences, we may perhaps not inaptly describe the present as a psychological age. No longer is psychology "the Cinderella of the Sciences," rather is she the Queen of the Muses. There is a psychology not merely of life, but of art, literature and music—and there is, too, a psychological, or pseudo-psychological, method of approaching all religious problems. As an illustration of it I may perhaps be permitted to cite the following passage from a speaker at the Cambridge Congress:

Experimental psychology could render most important service to Christian theology if it could shew us how to make contact, to use William James' phrase, with the spirit of God. Until we have such knowledge every aspect of the interaction of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Modern Churchman*, September, 1921, p. 310.

human and the divine will be a mystery. I imagine that our ignorance in this region has caused us to avoid questions concerning reconciliation, redemption, salvation. I regret the omission, because such matters are central to Christian experience.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently we are to despair of acquiring an adequate knowledge of Christian teaching until such time as empiric psychology has attained a much fuller development. Are we to discount the theology of Augustine, Anselm and Aquinas because they lacked proficiency in experimental psychology?

But whither is this method of the inner approach leading? The answer is not far to seek. Apparently every article of the Creed is to be translated into terms of personal consciousness, and accepted only in so far as it finds any warrant in that consciousness. In this way even the Divinity of Christ is rejected, and historic Christianity tumbles to the ground a mass of ruins. But that is not all. This introspective method, with its semi-deification of human consciousness, has led to a pseudo-mysticism, the direct outcome of which is pantheism. The belief even in a personal God is disappearing at the bidding of this modern appeal to consciousness. Obviously this method of approach to the problem of reunion can lead only to a unity of negation—the negation of every article of the Christian creed.

4. Is there then no hope of Christian Reunion? I am sanguine enough to think that there is, but that it must be sought on different lines.

In the first place, instead of aspiring after an ideal unity, I would ask you to contemplate the very real diversity which exists amongst us. At a very modest estimate we will suppose that there are a hundred different religious bodies in England to-day. If you went back a hundred years there would hardly be more than fifty. If you went back another hundred years you would find a proportionate decrease, whilst if you went back to Luther's day, you would find only two—the old historic church and the new comprehensive church which had broken away from it. Now I am going to ask you to go back a little further than that. I am going to ask you to go back to the days prior to Martin Luther, when as a matter of fact you will find only one historic church. I ask you to go back to the thirteenth century, and seek there a basis of Christian unity. That basis, it seems to me, you will find in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 346, 347.

To most people he is merely a name, or at best the author of the *Summa*. But the *Summa*, masterpiece as it is, is only one portion—less than half—of his voluminous writings. St. Thomas's intellectual pre-occupation was with philosophy, and in meeting the challenges of heretics he is always at pains to refute them from the standpoint of reason. If I were to summarize in a sentence the achievement of Aquinas I would say that he translated with common-sense Realism the doctrines of Christianity as vindicated against heretics in previous centuries. Consequently his works constitute a masterpiece setting forth the complete accord between reason and revelation. On this point I will content myself with quoting the remarkable words of a great non-Catholic scholar, Dr. Wicksteed. In his Hibbert Lectures on *The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy illustrated from the works of St. Thomas Aquinas*, he says:

The conditions under which St. Thomas Aquinas undertook his great synthesis of dogma and philosophy combined with the special characteristics of his genius, constantly invite us to step beyond the limits of his own creed and church; for his works present us with luminous examples of phenomena common to all advanced religious evolutions. They teach us to recognize the same underlying problems and analogous attempts to solve them, under the widest diversity of technical expression. They perpetually provoke us to deeper and more fearless thought, and they are as rich in impressive and even terrible warnings as they are in guidance and stimulation (p. 1).

With regard to the method of St. Thomas Aquinas I may perhaps be permitted to say a word. A vast amount of his work, notably the *Summa*, is for the benefit of Christian students discussing their own system. Here his method is certainly not

The stern and prompt suppressing  
As an obvious deadly sin  
All the questioning and the guessing  
Of the soul's own soul within.

Rather is it the peremptory challenging of everything which claims to enter the Temple of Truth. Every conceivable objection—from Scripture, from the Fathers, from pagan philosophers, from pure reason—is urged fully and with perfect frankness against every dogma of revealed religion. And here naturally St. Thomas answers the objections from the standpoint of a Christian, with divine revelation as his final



court of appeal. But it was necessary for him to adopt a very different standpoint in dealing with the Arabian philosophers. As Mohammedans they refused to admit either the Scriptures or Christian tradition as sources of revealed truth, and consequently in refuting the Arabians St. Thomas was thrown back upon the basis of pure reason. It was in this way that his great philosophical work, the *Contra Gentiles*, came to be written, to establish by the light of reason the truths of the natural law and the moral necessity of revelation. In the *Contra Gentiles* and the *Summa* we have an unrivalled presentation of natural and revealed religion by one who was at once a great saint and a great scholar, and we ask you to make the acquaintance of these writings for several reasons.

a). First of all, in his writings there can be no bias or prejudice against religious bodies which are the outcome of the Reformation, since St. Thomas wrote centuries before these bodies existed. His writings are high above the storm and stress of the religious controversies that distract this land to-day. I invite you therefore to read them and see what Christians really did believe before the disruption of Western Christendom. Surely we can find no better basis for Christian unity than the basis upon which the whole Western Church did actually take its stand. I have often wished that the masses in this country could have the opportunity of reading what St. Thomas Aquinas wrote. The Dominican translation of the *Summa* is beyond the means of the man-in-the-street, and in any case he would not care to tackle such large volumes. One would like to see various points of Catholic teaching translated from St. Thomas and published in pamphlet form, the inside cover of each pamphlet setting forth who Aquinas was, and the all-important fact that he wrote before the disruption of Christendom, and consequently without bias against the modern sects. Such a plain exposition of what Christians believed before the disruption of the Reformation would surely pave the way to reunion.

b). Again I venture to say that members of every Christian body will find in the *Summa* many of their most cherished beliefs expressed far better than they can express them themselves. I am not alluding merely to the truths of natural religion or to the fact of a revelation, but to what are sometimes erroneously called distinctively Protestant doctrines—such doctrines as the Atonement, the Sacri-

fice of Calvary, the One Mediatorship of Christ, the workings of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men, and more especially the high authority of Scriptural proof.

c). But you will find more than that. You will find that in a great many theological questions you have absolute intellectual liberty. You will learn the vital distinction between the essentials of Christianity and the things that are not essential, and realize the importance of holding fast at all costs to those essentials. You will find in this most wonderful expression of Christian belief something that will make an irresistible appeal to the mind that conceives, and the heart that aspires after, Christian unity: you will find Truth.

Now I would like to put to you the startling question "What is the use of Truth?" There are people in this country who tell you that speculative truth is of no use at all. That cannot be so. If we have got Truth we have got something that can be translated into life and action, and in that precisely lies its use and its value. A truth of the abstract order, such a truth for instance as that any two sides of a triangle are together greater than the third, is translated into action by all of us when we hurry to the railway station to catch a train. So, too, with the truths of the speculative theology of Aquinas. If you tell me that these cannot be translated into action, I point to the humble followers of St. Francis of Assisi who lived them, or to the schools for the education of the masses which grew out of them, and which later developed into the great historic Universities of Europe. Or I might point to Giotto and the whole school of Italian painters, or to the sublime Dante who was proud to acknowledge that he derived his inspiration from Aquinas. Or I might ask you to look upon the glorious Gothic cathedrals which embodied the principles of Aquinas in stone; or ask you simply to look back through the noble ruins of the pre-Reformation churches and abbeys of this land, back through their shattered glories, to the living faith of those who built them.

I ask you then not to look to the dim distant future, full of uncertainties, with a vague hope that some blind evolution of forces will work out towards that unity which we all so earnestly desire. I bid you rather look back to that golden period of culture, thought and action, when the social fabric of Europe was based upon the concept of a religious unity

than which in the history of Christianity no more perfect has ever been manifest. For the actual expression of that concept I have pointed to the works of that great synthetic genius, St. Thomas of Aquin.

With that so nobly realized ideal before our eyes, we may turn to the future with hope and confidence. An equally realizable ideal, the edifice of a no less perfect unity, glows before us through the present dimness and the mists. If we are ever to realize it, it will not be by building with loose stones and upon an unstable foundation. We must build with the same stones and upon the same foundation with which Aquinas built in the thirteenth century.

RICHARD DOWNEY.

## ST. IGNATIUS, PATRON OF RETREATS

**T**HE Apostolic Constitution published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* of July 25th, appointing St. Ignatius of Loyola "the heavenly patron of all spiritual exercises, and therefore of the institutions, sodalities and associations of whatever kind, which devote their efforts and their zeal to those who make spiritual exercises," comes as the climax to the great retreat movement of our time, which in this country has been largely associated with the name of Father Plater, and deserves more than a passing mention. The Christ-hunger of these days makes the topic indicated above perhaps the most suitable for an explanation of the significance of the Holy Father's action, as it is certainly the most suitable for the explanation of the spirit in which St. Ignatius lived and worked.

One of the most marked characteristics of St. Ignatius was his careful method in all things, the skilful *directing* of that fire wherewith he burned himself and which he sought to enkindle in others. One aspect of this is the peculiarly objective character, if it may so be called, of his spiritual thought. Not merely did he make much of the great truths, but he made much of them in the precise proportion in which they are great. His fundamental principle was the glory of God; and nothing more fundamental can be found. His devouring passion was not some hitherto unknown saint, or even a well-known saint; not that a devotion of this kind may not be truly admirable, but it was characteristic of St. Ignatius that *his* great devotion should be to Jesus Christ Himself. In this, as in much else, he showed himself a true heir of St. Paul, whose every thought was of Christ. Christ summed up the Apostle's faith, his hope, his love: Christ, equal with the Father, the sharer of His glory, who imparts to us His Spirit, uniting us with Himself in His death and in His glory, as members of His Mystical Body.

No one has ever approached St. Paul in his devouring passion for Christ, and his teaching of all that Christ should be for us. Nevertheless a great personal devotion to Christ has always been a marked feature in His saints, though naturally some have been more conspicuous for it than others. In

St. Patrick's "Breastplate" there are beautiful words which show him eager to live in and with Christ:

Christ with me, Christ before me,  
Christ behind me, Christ in me,  
Christ under me, Christ over me,  
Christ to right of me, Christ to left of me,  
Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up,  
Christ in the heart of every person who may think of me,  
Christ in the mouth of every one who may speak to me,  
Christ in every eye which may look on me,  
Christ in every ear which may hear me!

It is worth while to quote also the striking and weighty words wherein St. Teresa enters her protest against such as would make of mysticism a kind of Christianity without Christ. Only one paragraph can here be given, but the whole of the seventh chapter of the Sixth Mansion should be read, in order that the Saint's mind may be clear on this vital point. The following is from the Stanbrook rendering (*Interior Castle*, pp. 205—6):

Some souls imagine they cannot meditate even on the Passion, still less on the most blessed Virgin, or on the saints, the memory of whose lives greatly benefits and strengthens us. I cannot think what such persons are to meditate upon, for to withdraw the thoughts from all corporeal things, like the angelic spirits who are always inflamed with love, is not possible for us while in this mortal flesh; we need to study, to meditate upon and to imitate those who, mortals like ourselves, performed such heroic deeds for God. How much less should we wilfully endeavour to abstain from thinking of our only good and remedy, the most sacred Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ? I cannot believe that anyone really does this; they misunderstand their own minds, and so harm both themselves and others. Of this, at least, I can assure them: they will never thus enter the two last mansions of the Castle. If they lose their Guide, our good Jesus, they cannot find the way, and it will be much if they have stayed safely in the former mansions. Our Lord Himself tells us that He is "the Way": He also says that He is "the Light," that "No man cometh to the Father but by Him," and that "He that seeth Me, seeth the Father also." Such persons tell us that these words have some other meaning; I know of no other meaning but this, which my soul has ever recognized as the true one, and which has always suited me right well.

If now we come to St. Ignatius himself, we find various traits and incidents in his life that indicate this personal

devotion to our Blessed Lord, such as his pilgrimage to the holy places of Palestine, and his encouragement of more frequent Communion; but we can obtain a surer insight into his mind by considering the two chief products of his matured convictions, the Society which he founded and the Spiritual Exercises which he wrote. Naturally there is a close affinity between the two, and each throws great light upon the other; yet we must beware of saying that the Society is merely the concrete embodiment of the Exercises. The Exercises lay down general principles which, to speak broadly and without discussion of some minor details, no Catholic can refuse to admit, and originality is to be found rather in their arrangement and method than in the truths set forth. But they do not necessarily lead to the Society! The founding of the Society was the best that St. Ignatius thought he could do for the circumstances of the time; but, needless to say, it was no part of his plans or hopes to monopolize the priesthood. His was to be a flying column, to carry help where the main battalions most needed it.

Nevertheless, when we scan his ideals more closely, we see how closely he sought to reproduce the very life of Christ. It is one of the paradoxes of Church history, showing the divine control of her development, that the ascetic ideal, the perfect life, has come to be sought in ever closer imitation of our Lord's own manner of life. Who would have expected that His example and teaching should lead to the peopling of the Egyptian deserts with men zealous to surpass each other in self-torture? The Church, Catholic from the first, would not quench such a spirit, but in drawing ever closer to her Divine Spouse manifested also to her children the possibility of a life more like unto His. Even as Christ went to and fro in Galilee, preaching and doing good, with little of His own but supported by others, ready to go whithersoever called by hope of good, full all the while of a divine wisdom, and retiring upon occasion to commune with His Father upon the mountain; even so St. Ignatius designed that his sons should be ready to accept every call of the Holy See or of their superiors, giving freely what they had freely received, living only upon alms, suiting themselves to local custom even in the matter of habit, and trusting for their union with God, apart from the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacraments, to shutting their door and praying to Him in secret. They were, indeed, to be other



Christs, crucified to the world, and living only with and in and even like Him.

And they were to possess, in their measure, His wisdom. In that lay the fundamental difference between St. Ignatius' ideal and that of St. Francis, that other great exponent of the Christ-life. What Christ was in knowledge by nature that St. Ignatius meant his followers to be by training, presupposing of course a sufficient foundation of natural gifts, so far as a fairly high standard in this regard could be attained by human care and effort. Father Bede Jarrett, O.P., in his admirable work on *The English Dominicans*, tells us (p. 2) that "when later the discipleship was scattered over Europe it was sent to Paris, Bologna, Rome, etc., to attend the schools as well as to occupy the pulpit. Eventually the friars came themselves to be professors, but this was rather the result of circumstances than of set design, though the alert mind of the founder seized on it and developed the idea." Something of the same kind is true of St. Ignatius and his first followers. The main facts are explained in Père Brucker's *La Compagnie de Jésus* (Beauchesne, Paris: pp. 77—82), an admirable compendium of the internal development and external history of the Society. In the summary sketch of the institute signed by St. Ignatius and five of his first companions in March, 1541, occurs the somewhat startling item, "Neither studies nor lectures in the Society." The fully-fledged members were neither to teach nor to be taught; but the scholastics still at their studies were to live at a university under a superior of the Society and to attend the public lectures, much as they do now at Oxford. It was St. Ignatius' original idea that the professed fathers should always be ready at the Pope's bidding to depart for any spot upon earth, an idea which we find also in the outline of the new institute embodied in Paul III.'s Apostolic Letter of approbation, the *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, which had been issued in September, 1540, only a few months before the above. In less than ten years, it is true, under stress of an urgent and evident need, the systematic teaching both of humanities and of the higher studies had been definitely undertaken, and was to receive enormous development. Yet even in provinces that under stress of the same necessity bear a relatively heavy burden of schools, there is much that cannot be explained without reference to the fundamental principle of knight-errantry.

Knight-errantry, or at all events chivalry, is one of the most obvious links between St. Ignatius' conception of the Society and the Spiritual Exercises. It is the special aspect under which he presents the life of Christ, although there is little immediate foundation for this in Our Lord's own words, to some extent doubtless because such language might have been misunderstood and misrepresented. After the soul has been purged, so far as may be, from sin and attachment to sin, she is brought face to face with Christ, but before even she has considered the Incarnation, a great covering meditation is proposed, the greatest and most momentous of St. Ignatius' key-meditations, which teach us what to look for and what to find in Christ's whole life and death and glory. Christ is our Heaven-sent Leader; we must be quick and ready to follow His will, ready to accept and discharge to the best of our power whatever function in the great army He may assign us.

But if St. Ignatius most easily depicts in knightly language the personal loyalty and devotion we must feel for Christ, that is but a way of rousing us to live His life and suffer His sufferings more fully with Him. Even if our lives should be very different from His outwardly, we must still interpret His life into ours and ours by His. And that means the Cross, the Cross borne willingly, nay joyfully, with Him and for Him; that indeed is the only true test of love, how much we are ready to suffer. Nowhere has St. Ignatius more eloquently spoken his mind on this point than in the *Examen Generale*, the "general examination" of those who seek admission into the Society, in the fourth chapter, "about some things, which it is especially becoming that those should know who are admitted into the Society, of those things which they must observe therein":

Moreover those who are examined must carefully observe (setting great store thereby, and esteeming it a point of the utmost consequence in the sight of our Creator and Lord) how much it helps and contributes to progress in the spiritual life, to abhor wholly and not in part all that the world loves and embraces; and to accept and desire with all one's strength whatever Christ Our Lord loved and embraced. For as worldly men, who follow after the things of the world, love and seek with great diligence honours, fame, the reputation of a great name upon the earth, as the world teaches them: even so those who advance in spirit, and seriously follow Christ Our Lord, love and eagerly desire

things altogether contrary thereto: to be clothed, that is, with the same garment and with the livery of their Lord for His love and reverence: so much so that, if there would be no offence of the Divine Majesty or sin of their neighbour, they would wish to suffer insults, false witness and injuries, and to be held and esteemed fools (though without on their part giving any occasion for this), because they are eager to resemble and imitate in some sort our Creator and Lord Jesus Christ, and to be clothed with His garments and livery: since He Himself donned them for the sake of our greater spiritual progress, and gave us an example, that in all things, so far as by the inspiration of divine grace it shall be possible, we may wish to imitate and follow Him, since He is the true way which leads men to life. Therefore let them be asked whether they feel within themselves desires so salutary, and so fruitful in order to the perfection of their souls.

It is this passage which furnishes the greatest and most glorious of the "rules," of which it is the eleventh. These rules were ratified by the Second General Congregation in 1565 A.D., and are officially described as "the summary of those constitutions which appertain to the spiritual training of Ours, and are to be observed by all." They are a series of extracts from the Constitutions and "general examination" of St. Ignatius, made with a view to setting forth in brief authentic form, not the working organization, but the genuine spirit of the saint and his order, for the use of all the members.

That spirit, indeed, of ardent personal devotion to Christ, alike in His life and in His passion and in the Blessed Sacrament, received a special sanction in the peculiar commission given to the Society through St. Margaret Mary, to enkindle in itself and others the devotion to the Sacred Heart. It is as the crowning expression of the spirit which the Society has always striven to achieve that such a devotion is so welcome and immeasurable a gift, even in a sense the only thing that matters, because faithfulness thereto will render secure the continued blessing of God.

C. LATTEY.

## THE SYSTEM OF THE STARS : AN ARGUMENT FOR DESIGN<sup>1</sup>

**B**Y the system of the stars is meant that system of which our sun forms one unit. It is bounded by the more distant clouds of the Milky Way, and certainly consists of not less than one thousand million luminous objects, more or less condensed. Taking as our unit of measurement the distance that light, which has a velocity of 186,000 miles a second, travels in a year, or a unit something less than six million million miles, the remoter clouds of the Milky Way lie at a distance from us of about 20,000 light-years. Astronomers are agreed that the stellar system or universe, as we know it, is in the shape of a very oblate spheroid or ellipsoid, something like a lens in its contour. The solar system lies not far removed from the median plane of this elongated congeries of stars. The Milky Way forms its boundary and its equator. Looking away from this plane we see relatively few stars. But the star density increases in an ever growing ratio as we approach the median plane. In this plane too lie the more open star clusters, such as that of the Pleiades, the diffuse nebulae, of which the nebula in Orion is one of the most beautiful examples, the planetary nebulae, such as the ring nebula in Lyra, with the new stars from which they have been most likely formed, and the dark nebulosities. The globular clusters too, of which that in Hercules, some 36,000 light-years away at the very least, is a type, though not in the Milky Way, are apparently connected with it.<sup>2</sup> The spiral nebulae alone appear to be objects outside the galactic regions. Some astronomers hold the opinion that they are external galaxies. But, excluding such nebulae, all the other luminous objects in the skies are arranged and disposed in an orderly manner with regard to the Milky Way, as a luminous circle on which the stars are concentrated. A system connotes and demands orderly arrangement. It presupposes law, and the gravitational marshalling of the stars is a fundamental condition of the stellar

<sup>1</sup> Expanded from a Paper read before the Catholic Conference of Higher Studies, Stonyhurst, Jan. 5, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> The furthest celestial body, the distance of which has been measured by indirect methods with reasonable certainty, is the globular cluster, number 7006 of the new General Catalogue. Its distance is 217,000 light years.

galaxy. It is based on uniformity. The stars of our system are not merely a fortuitous gathering of luminous bodies, not an accidental arrangement, but one that is the effect of the operation of definite processes, one that possesses community of origin, and essential unity in its constituent materials. Moreover, not only are the nearer clusters, such as that in Ursa Major, that in Orion, those of the Pleiades, and Hyades, endowed with a common direction of proper motion, but all the nearer stars are streaming, or moving majestically in two grand processions, in two different directions, the two streams intermingled together, but without collision or mutual interference.

That the stars of our system possess community of origin is shown by a study of the nebulae, and of the intimate and physical connection of the stars with the nebulae. As long ago as the year 1812, that prince among observers, the great Sir William Herschel, recognized, by an intuition of genius, an orderly sequence among the nebulae, and the stars involved in them, which he had observed. Modern photographic evidence does but lend weight to his main conclusions. For the nebulae can be arranged in the order of a gradual state of condensation, from filmy structureless clouds and veils, through more condensed nebulae, to nebulae connected with stars, such as the planetary nebulae, the final term of the sequence being rich star clusters. The evidence of the spiral nebulae is conclusive, that the stars are not merely optically, but that they are physically connected with nebulae. Possibly we are watching the process of formation in external galaxies, or at least in objects whose remoteness may be measured in hundreds of thousands of light-years.

There is unity too in the materials which form the nebulae and the stars of the sidereal galaxy. The same materials are found by the spectroscope in the celestial spaces, though in an orderly sequence of predominance. In the green or gaseous nebulae, are observed helium, hydrogen, and a substance not yet identified in terrestrial laboratories, and from its characterisation of the nebulae, called nebulium. Then follow the bluest and hottest stars, with helium and hydrogen as their chief constituents, the white stars in which hydrogen forms the chief feature. Next come the yellow stars, such as our sun, with calcium and metallic vapours in their atmospheres, and finally the red stars, in which the temperature is so low as to permit of the formation of chemical compounds.

Not that the red stars are on the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder. For there are red stars, like Betelgeux, and Antares, which are capable of containing more than twenty millions of our suns, of extremely tenuous density, but on account of their size of great apparent brightness; and there are, too, faint red stars nearing extinction. The process of evolution seems to be through giant red and yellow stars, to white and blue stars, on the upward grade, and then in reverse order, through yellow and red stars, of continually diminishing luminosity and increasing density.

In former ages, before the invention of the telescope, of the spectroscope, and of the photographic plate, men pictured to themselves the system of the planets, and the few thousands of stars visible to the naked eye, as founded on the earth as a centre. But even with this meagre and inadequate outlook, the mutual motions of the planets, under the evident reign of law, the apparent movements of the sun, and of the moon, across the starry firmament, gave them some partial knowledge of a definite and orderly arrangement. Ptolemy, Kepler, Copernicus, Newton successively codified the laws by which their motions were governed. But harmony, uniformity, orderly arrangement is the effect of direction by an Intelligent Cause. For unintelligent instruments can be uniformly directed to an end only by an Intelligent Cause. And in the movements of the planets, and of the stars, we behold a harmonious, a uniform, and an orderly arrangement of unintelligent creatures or instruments. We are forced to logically conclude that this arrangement is due to the action of an Intelligent Cause.

But with our increased knowledge of the processes and laws which are evident in the celestial spaces, in the system of the stars, how much more cogent and convincing becomes this argument for Design, and for the existence of a First Intelligent Cause, founded on the orderly arrangement of the universe.

Again, in the system of the nebulae and of the stars, we witness change, modification, alteration, differentiation, gradual transformation according to an evolutionary order. And astronomical science, when it deals with the origin of worlds, postulates gradual change, the bringing of potentialities to activities, and a transformation from a primeval state, that is from a nebulous mass endowed with motion, to the formation of clusters, and systems, and galaxies of



stars. All these changes philosophy groups under the generic title of Movement. Now potentialities must be reduced to action, or potential energy must become kinetic, by the action of an external agent. And, again, whatever is moved, requires an active agent to cause the movement. To state the matter as a general principle: "that which changes has not within itself the adequate reason of its change"; or to put the principle otherwise, "all change is dependent on some being other than that which changes." And this is true even if the physical principles of successive changes were inherent in the primeval nebulous matter. The scholastic philosophers expressed this axiomatic truth in the aphorism, "quidquid movetur ab alio movetur"; whatever is moved is moved by something else.

It follows then that there exists, outside an ever-changing system of stars, a Being Who is not Himself subject to change. Only thus can philosophy account for all the changes in our material Universe. This Supreme Being, Whose nature is exempt from the modifications and alterations, which we observe in all the physical processes that are subjected to our investigation and experience, is the Pure Activity, Whom we adore and revere as the Creator of the material Universe. In the words of Cardinal Mercier: "His reality is free from all potentiality, from all capacity of receiving further actuation, and is therefore immutable, eternal, all-perfect,"<sup>1</sup> in a word God.

And the immensity, the beauty, the order and arrangement of this vast system of stars and of nebulae give us some inadequate glimpses of the attributes of this First Intelligent Cause; of His Immensity, His Power, His Wisdom, His Magnificence, His Omnipresence, His Omniscience, His Majesty, His Beauty.

There is nothing new in these arguments for Design, founded upon the orderly arrangement of the universe, and on its movements, changes, and modifications. What is new is the abundance of the material which is furnished by modern scientific investigation, which makes the evidence ever more convincing, and the arguments derived therefrom ever more cogent. All evolutionary theories, whether in the physical, or in the biological sciences, connote mutations, and adaptations, and therefore in the chain of causes demand Pure Activity, and Supreme Intelligence.

<sup>1</sup> *Retreat to Priests*, 6th Discourse, p. 171.

In the cosmogony of the ancients, the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars were supposed to be set in concentric spheres which rotated round the earth, set in their common centre. These spheres as they turned made for the poetic imagination most beautiful music, heard only by those whose minds and hearts were attuned to receive their melody.

The system of the stars is an argument for Design; but after all it only leads to a natural knowledge of God, the Creator and First Cause. There is a much higher knowledge, the supernatural knowledge given by faith. Illumined by this knowledge the mind and the heart are more perfectly resonant to the celestial melodies that arise from the harmony, the order, the beauty of the wonderful works of God, as shown forth and portrayed in the firmament of the stars. For St. Ignatius of Loyola, the contemplation of Almighty God, energizing and working in His material creation, was a motive that moved him to acts of sublime love.

It happened on one occasion, after a lecture delivered in Burnley, that a working man overtook me on my way home, and, addressing me, said: "You told us a deal about stars and sich-like, but what's good of them?" "What's the use of them," was my answer, "why, does not this wonderful universe naturally raise our minds to the glory of the Creator, Who made and arranged all the stars in the heavens?" "Aye, that's all reet," he replied, "but what's good of them?" The same question is thus expressed in less homely language by a learned correspondent, a brother Jesuit: "One end of the stellar universe is clearly to exhibit the Wisdom and the Omnipotence of God. But it is difficult to believe that that is the only end, and that the evolution of the whole mighty system was directed to form a dwelling place—on one small speck of it—for the human race. I do not think we can say that we know the full purpose of extra-mundane creation, and of the design traceable in it as a whole. We have an immense and complicated physical instrument, directed to no apparent physical result, a sort of clock-work without a dial."

This question does not militate in any way against the argument for the design, founded on the arrangement, and mutations in the celestial galaxy, which has been all too briefly set forth in the preceding pages. But it may be usefully discussed as a corollary naturally arising from the main lines of argumentation. In the first place it seems to

the writer that when we speak of the mighty system of the stars, with its myriads of members, and the vast distances that separate them, we are regarding the matter from the standpoint of the human intellect, and hence we lose the sense of proportion in which they ought to be looked at, and that is from the standpoint of the Immensity of God, their Creator. In relation to the Immensity of God the system of the stars is no more extended than say the untold millions of microbes in a cubic inch of a living organism, or the thousands of millions of electrons in a yard of live wire.

In that remarkable book, *Man's Place in the Universe*,<sup>1</sup> written by the late Alfred R. Wallace, the co-originator with the illustrious Charles Darwin of the modern evolutionary theory as to the origin of man, he argues that the whole of the stellar system was formed so that our earth, and our earth alone, should be the abode of man. For this purpose he sets forth a long discussion, of absorbing interest, to show that the solar system is situated in the plane of the Milky Way, and not far removed from the centre of that plane, and that no other celestial bodies in all the system are habitable or inhabited except our earth. With regard to the position of the solar system relatively to the galaxy, all astronomers are agreed that it occupies a position not far removed from the plane of the Milky Way, but there is a diversity of opinion as to its practically central position, with regard to the star clouds that constitute the luminous circle that bounds our galaxy. For instance, Dr. Harlow Shapley, whose profound studies on the system of the various classes of celestial objects that constitute the materials of our galaxy lend great weight to his conclusions, in a discussion on "The Scale of the Universe,"<sup>2</sup> writes:

"One consequence of accepting the theory that clusters outline the form and the extent of the galactic system, is that the sun is found to be very distant from the middle of the galaxy. It appears that we are not far from the centre of a large local cluster or cloud, but that cloud is at least 50,000 light-years from the galactic centre."

On the contrary his opponent, Dr. H. D. Curtis, voicing not only his own opinion, but that also of several other eminent astronomers, declares that "our sun is located fairly close

<sup>1</sup> *Man's Place in the Universe*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the National Research Council*, Vol. II., Part III., Number 11, May, 1921.

to the centre of figure of the galaxy," thus lending weight to the conclusions of Alfred R. Wallace.

But be that as it may, from the mathematical investigations in celestial cosmogony of this year's medallist of the Royal Astronomical Society, Dr. J. H. Jeans, it would appear that our solar system is unique, or at the least that the formation of planets about a central sun is very rare and unusual. Consequently the implications, contained in the conclusions advanced by Wallace, are sound and convincing. They are best stated in his own words:

With infinite space around us and infinite time before and behind us, there is no incongruity in this conception (viz., that the universe was brought into existence for the production of man). A universe as large as ours for the purpose of bringing into existence many myriads of living, intellectual, moral, and spiritual beings, with unlimited possibilities of life and happiness, is surely not *more* out of proportion than is the complex machinery, the life-long labour, the ingenuity and invention which we have bestowed upon the production of the humble, the trivial *pin*. Neither is the apparent waste of energy so great in such a universe, comparatively, as the millions of acorns, produced during its life by an oak, every one of which might grow to be a tree, but of which only *one* does actually, after several hundred years, produce the *one* tree which is to replace the parent. And if it be said that the acorns are food for bird and beast, yet the spores of ferns and the seeds of orchids are not so, and countless millions of these go to waste for every one which reproduces the parent form. And all through the animal world, especially among the lower types, the same thing is seen. In the great majority of these entities *we* can see no use whatever, either of the enormous variety of the species, or of the vast hordes of individuals. Of beetles alone there are at least a hundred thousand distinct species now living, while in some parts of sub-arctic America mosquitoes are sometimes so excessively abundant that they obscure the sun. And when we think of the myriads that have existed through the vast ages of geological time, the mind reels under the immensity of, to us, apparently useless life.

All nature tells us the same strange, mysterious story, of the exuberance of life, of endless variety, of unimaginable quantity. All this life upon our earth has led up to and culminated in that of man. . . . And is it not in perfect harmony with this grandeur of design (if it be design), this vastness of scale, this marvellous process of development through all the ages, that the material universe needed to produce this cradle of organic life, and of a being destined to a higher and a permanent existence,

should be on a corresponding scale of vastness, of complexity, of beauty?

And again:

Looking at the long and slow and complex growth of nature that preceded his appearance, the immensity of the stellar universe with its thousand millions suns, and the vast æons of time during which it has been developing—all these seem only the appropriate, the harmonious surroundings, the necessary supply of material, the sufficiently spacious workshop for the production of that planet which was to produce first, the organic world, and then, Man.

And, taking up the theme from the naturalist, and the astronomer, and rising from the merely natural aspect of the question to the supernatural, the culmination of the whole of creation is in the formation, from the virginal womb of Mary, of the human body of that Man, Who was also God, Jesus Christ our Lord. Before His attributes, as God, the whole of the starry firmament pales into insignificance, and nothing can be conceived too grand or too magnificent in its formation, or process of evolution, which was directed to serve for the formation of a world destined for His dwelling-place.

Leaving our own puny solar system let us embrace with our telescope a sphere with a radius a million times the distance of the earth from the sun. It contains about eighteen other suns, so vast is the scale of the distances of the stars. Let us next penetrate a sphere with a radius which is 500 light-years. We could survey about one million of the starry host, which is reckoned at least as one thousand million. We come to the clouds of the Milky Way, some 30,000 light-years away, and beyond to the spiral nebula, and the globular star clusters, at distances reckoned probably by half a million light-years. And beyond, and beyond, in imagination, not only through actual space determined by the presence of stars, and clusters, and nebulae, but to imaginary or potential space, which may be so peopled with myriads of luminous objects.

Jesus Christ who, as Man, dwelt at Nazareth, is as God there; and compared to His Immensity all these untold millions of heavenly bodies are but as one drop in a mighty ocean,—not even that.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Lessius De nominibus divinis*, ch. iv.

And He is beyond all imaginable space, perfectly and completely, with all the perfections which are eminently contained in Him. The luminiferous ether is supposed by physicists to extend throughout all real space, and all the bodies contained in space are permeated with it. Almighty God extends infinitely beyond all space, and He permeates all bodies; not indeed by parts, as is the case with the luminiferous ether, but by Himself, wholly, and entirely, immoveable and immutable. God the All-Wise, the All-Perfect, the All-Powerful, Immense not only in His extent but also in all His attributes, is everywhere, in nature, and immeasurably beyond the furthest imaginable star. As the inspired Psalmist sings: "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, and of His Greatness there is no end." (Ps. cxliv. 3).

This is the God, the Word made flesh, that dwelt among us. And although it may be true to say that we are ignorant of the full purpose of the Creation of the Stellar Universe, yet this end, to form by gradual evolution from the original star-mist a habitation for God made Man, is surely adequate and satisfying to our minds and hearts.

Let us suppose that all the theories of gradual change and evolution, in inorganic and in organic nature, were not mere working hypotheses, co-ordinating all our knowledge, and leading to further discoveries, but fully proved truths; which is to suppose a great deal.

Returning to our main theme in the realms of natural knowledge, such theories of evolution necessarily lead to God. A universe subject to change, demands a First Cause, Who is not subject to, and is independent of all change. To deny this truth, in the name of scientific agnosticism, is to stultify the intellect, and to refuse in the processes of nature to link up the chain of secondary causes with the Immutable, Everlasting First Cause. For "the Heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of His hands" (Ps. xviii. 1). And speaking of unbelievers the Wise Man truly remarks: "For if they were able to know so much, as to make a judgment of the world: [*i.e.*, from the content the sun, moon, and stars] how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof?" (Wisdom xiii. 9).

A. L. CORTIE.



## ON PADRES

**B**EFORE 1914, the majority, perhaps ninety per cent. of Englishmen, knew practically nothing about the Catholic Church, and had never seen or spoken to a Catholic priest. In the case of the "working" classes, ignorance of a strange religion is not matter for surprise. With regard to the "middle" and "upper" classes, their ideas of the Church and her priests have been formed by the traditions of Protestant public schools, by Protestant history, and by current popular literature, remarkable for its ignorance of everything appertaining to the Faith.

Between 1914 and 1919 several millions of young Englishmen, and many no longer young, found themselves in countries entirely Catholic, where every place of worship was a Catholic church, every clergyman a priest, and every man, woman and child a "papist," or an infidel. Catholics who served in the British Army will not easily forget the amusing bewilderment of both men and officers when this curious state of things was first realized. On the first Saturday evening after our arrival in France, my servant, an intelligent young Birmingham artizan, met me on the steps of the parish church and asked the way to the Church of England. On learning that no such building existed in a small French town, he inquired for a Nonconformist chapel, or any Protestant place of worship. When he understood that these also were unknown and that he was indeed a stranger in a strange land, he said in an astonished voice, "Sir, I had no idea there were so many Catholics in the world."

Among the younger officers there was almost equal ignorance. They knew the Catholic Church as a mediæval legend, the memory of which was perpetuated by a negligible number of their fellow-countrymen, who for that reason were not quite "English" in their ideas. They found the Church, outside England, a mighty institution, very much alive, and recognized as the national religion of all our European Allies excepting the Balkan States. They knew the Catholic priest from the pages of fiction, or from the more or less contemptuous descriptions of English travellers on the Continent. Very soon they knew him under quite a different guise.

A curious thing happened, a thing which at the time was taken as a matter of course and as part of the routine of war, but which possibly has had an effect not contemplated by the military authorities. Among some two hundred thousand officers, most of them Englishmen of the educated classes, there were scattered several hundreds of army chaplains, who were also Catholic priests. They were attached to hospitals, ambulances, and fighting units of every description. They held officer's rank, lived "in mess" on equal terms with other officers, and shared equally with them the dangers, discomforts, and daily incidents, pleasant and unpleasant, of campaigning.

In normal circumstances the Catholic priest lives with and for his flock. Only on rare occasions does he come in contact with educated men who are not Catholics, and then usually in a formal or official capacity, as when serving on a public committee. The Catholic army chaplain, on the other hand, often lived for months on terms of the closest intimacy with a number of non-Catholic officers, sharing their meals, their marches, their bivouacs and their billets. His duties were with his Catholic men, but his life was usually lived almost entirely among non-Catholic companions.

Inevitably the thought occurs, what has been the effect of this widespread diffusion of priests among a class of men ignorant of their religion, unacquainted with their distinctive personality and totally out of sympathy with their principles and ideals? Has ignorance and prejudice been dispelled, and to what extent? Was the Heaven-sent opportunity of revealing the Church and her ministers in their true colours to our separated fellow-countrymen utilized to the full, or did the Catholic chaplains fail to grasp it?

The true answers to such questions are known only to God who created the great opportunity; and for a lay-man, like the present writer, to express an opinion on such a subject, would be presumptuous and improper. It is permissible, however, to record one's impressions of a unique situation and to suggest some possible reasons why its spiritual effects were not more striking and permanent. The reader will, of course, make allowances for the fact that the experience of a single individual in the huge field of the war was necessarily of a very limited character, and his impressions would be based only on his personal observations. On the other hand, though inadequate, they may be of interest to the

padres themselves, who could not know the opinions and sentiments of their non-Catholic companions, and their attitude towards Catholicism and padres, quite so well as an ordinary Catholic officer.

It must be understood that as a Catholic, writing of Catholic priests, I wish to say nothing which reflects upon their personal character, or the fulfilment of their sacred duties. For the priests whom it was my privilege to meet throughout the war I have nothing but the greatest esteem and respect. With perhaps one exception, they were all men of whom Catholic soldiers were proud, filled with zeal for the souls of their flocks and never shirking danger or hardship in the performance of their sacred duties. The single exception was a very young and inexperienced priest, whose conduct was considered by some to be not quite edifying, but who afterwards died gallantly at his post.

But the very qualities which endeared the Catholic padre to his own flock, frequently led to difficulties in his relation with others. The non-Catholic officer treated all padres with respect, slightly tinged with contempt. In his view the padre had a "cushy job." If he was an elderly man, this was excusable, but young men were expected to fight, and not to seek the protection of their cloth. Moreover the functions of the padre were vague and undefined. His duties were to bury the dead, and to hold services when the troops were out of the line. Having plenty of time on his hands, he was expected to make himself useful by organizing sports and entertainments for the men, by running canteens, and occasionally by acting as president of his mess. If a padre proved himself energetic in such matters, and was also courageous in danger and good company in mess, he became popular, and on his popularity depended his influence in spiritual matters.

As the official representative of the State Church, the Church of England padre had a certain advantage over those of other denominations. His position was assured, while they were merely tolerated. It is true that the War Office recognized no distinction of faith, and that seniority depended only on rank. In English units, however, the great majority of the officers were nominally members of the Church of England, and considered that loyalty to the King somehow involved loyalty to the Church of which he is the head. The soldier is a simple-minded man, accustomed to

authority and routine, and dislikes "fancy religions." The Church of England padre represented the religion of the King, as the Colonel represented his authority. Moreover the Church of England padre, usually a public school man, was of the same social class as the officer, at any rate in the earlier years of the war.

The Catholic padre was thus severely handicapped in his relations with the officers among whom he lived. He represented an unpopular religion, which has ceased to be identified with English traditions. Among public school and University men, he was often regarded as an outsider of a different social caste. Unused to "the world," ignorant of its slang, its hardness, frivolity and selfishness, he was naturally somewhat shy and retiring and often self-conscious.

Suddenly transported from the quiet and orderly life of monastery, college or presbytery, set down in a strange land among all the exciting and bewildering incidents of war, compelled to live with a score of vigorous, free-thinking and free-speaking young heretics, in conditions which rendered any kind of personal privacy almost impossible, it was not surprising that a priest often found it difficult to adapt himself to circumstances, to create a good impression, and to carry out his duties with tact and discretion.

And, like the Pharisees, "they watched him." He was accorded rather more than the perfunctory respect due to all padres. His simplicity, recollection and zealous discharge of his spiritual duties, usually earned this within a few days of his arrival in a new mess, even though his companions did not understand him. It surprised me to find that Protestant officers, especially elderly "regular" Army men, regarded the Roman Catholic padre as a being on a different plane even from other padres. They often disliked him and his faith quite definitely; they sometimes, though rarely, expressed this dislike by open rudeness; but invariably they expected from a priest a higher moral standard than from anyone else. In his presence men usually spoke as if he were a young and innocent girl, perhaps the highest possible compliment to his sacred character.

It seemed to me that this attitude towards priests was due chiefly to their characteristic of celibacy, which distinguished them from all other ministers of religion. Among non-Catholic men of the world, celibacy was misunderstood, disapproved of, and was sometimes the subject of jests, but at

the same time it inspired respect. The fact that it had been accepted voluntarily and for life, by every priest, was very quickly appreciated as an indication that he took his calling seriously. This impression was deepened when the practice of daily Mass and Office was noticed, and finally the business-like administration of Sacraments, and their obviously comforting effect upon the dying, revealed the priest as a professional doctor of souls, beside whom other padres were but unskilled amateurs.

The very young priest before referred to, was a little wild, and too anxious to be regarded as a "sport" by the younger officers. An elderly captain, an Ulster Protestant, said to me one day, "Can't you talk to that padre of yours? He's not quite the thing, and we know what your priests ought to be." On the other hand there was always generous readiness to recognize personal courage and devotion. The sight of a priest administering the Sacraments in a front line trench evoked unstinted admiration, which still finds expression in printed reminiscences of the war, and the gallantry of a certain well-known Jesuit padre was often discussed with enthusiasm in the army of the East.

Usually a padre of any denomination was welcome as a guest in the mess of a fighting unit, but not as a permanent member. His continued presence necessitated restraint in conversation and the provision of an extra billet or tent, and of space in an over-burdened transport wagon. The non-Catholic padre could pay for this by his efforts for the material welfare of the men of his unit. Having no Mass or Office to say, or Sacraments to administer, he was free to get up concerts or football matches, arrange for baths, censor letters and go on shopping expeditions for the mess. The Roman Catholic padre, on the other hand, usually had to minister to the needs of the men of three or four other units besides the one to which he was attached. This involved, especially in the East, long journeys on horse or cycle day after day, and as his time was fully occupied in carrying spiritual consolation to his widely scattered flock, he had little to spare for providing entertainments and material comforts.

Two padres, a Wesleyan and a Catholic, were attached to a certain battalion with which I served. The Colonel secured the transfer of both to other units. The Wesleyan, an earnest and gallant man, would go "over the top" with a

haversack of woodbines and a flask of rum for distribution among the wounded, but had a habit of holding discussions with the men in their billets on social subjects and expressing views which the conservative Colonel considered dangerous. The Catholic padre was asked to give up his trips to neighbouring units and to devote himself entirely to the material welfare of the men of his own battalion. Naturally he refused, and was, in consequence, got rid of. He was, however, a somewhat nervous and retiring man, and possibly by handling the situation more tactfully would have retained his position.

Only the Roman Catholic padres themselves know to the full the many difficulties with which they had to contend, due chiefly to the fact that when the British army is at war, religion of all kinds is a somewhat troublesome and unnecessary sideshow. From the higher authorities they no doubt received courtesy and assistance. In the hospitals and ambulances they were treated as recognized members of the staff, on almost the same footing as the doctors. In the fighting units a padre was an encumbrance, only welcome if he "did his bit" in ways which appealed to the ordinary officer, and caused no inconvenience by his requirements.

In our rare intervals of leisure, religion was seldom mentioned, and in the stern presence of war and death, bigotry was almost unknown, at least in my experience. Once a little Irish Franciscan received into the Church a Protestant sergeant, but ignorant of the customs of the service in peace time, had not previously notified the authorities of the convert's intention. The Colonel, another Ulster Protestant, exploded with wrath, summoned his officers, raved about proselytizing in the battalion, and threatened the Franciscan and the sergeant with dire penalties.

The padre maintained his rights with spirit, and the situation became tense. Then the adjutant, grinning sardonically, announced that the convert, in the excess of his new enthusiasm, had broken bounds, got gloriously drunk, and was in the hands of the military police. The Colonel's sense of humour was tickled, he roared with laughter, and asked me to defend the delinquent at his court-martial.

Looking back over the years of war one recalls with great gratitude the kindly and devoted men who ministered to our spiritual needs and whose personalities often left vivid impressions on the memory. There was a tall, bronzed Austra-



lian who said Mass for us in a shed on the quay at Alexandria, where our ship called to coal. There was the genial Jesuit who was once a familiar figure trotting on a great white horse along the Seres road in Macedonia, and the pleasant Oratorian who occasionally visited the fly-infested hovel which we called a "mess." Later, when the stretcher-bearers deposited me on the operating table, in a ravine among the distant Balkans, a quiet and efficient priest appeared out of the night, before even the surgeons could begin. Another cheered us during the painful passage on the hospital ship; I trust he escaped when the torpedo subsequently sank it.

It was a smiling little Maltese who next had charge of us, in a great building of the Knights of St. John, quite pleased to find Catholics among so many English heretics. Then memory travels to an old French fort, headquarters of a field hospital, where, in a large and motley gathering of doctors of all nationalities, the duties of mess president were most efficiently performed by an urbane and elderly canon from a great Yorkshire town.

On the morning of our last battle I walked across a field near the Selle, and for the last time saw a priest under fire. Motor ambulances were dashing up close to the front line itself, and receiving their loads of wounded. Shells were falling on each side of the road, while a big Irish padre heaved stretcher after stretcher into the cars, joking cheerily with the men upon them and watching keenly for members of his faith who needed spiritual attention. We chatted for a moment and I passed on. He remains in my memory as typical of many others, a goodly company of gallant gentlemen, without whose devoted services those strenuous years would have been, to us Catholics, well-nigh unbearable.

Perhaps the seculars adapted themselves more readily to their strange companions, while the regulars, bred in a stricter school, found army regulations less uncongenial. To the Catholic soldiers they were, one and all, the welcome ambassadors of God. If their spiritual influence on their non-Catholic fellow officers was not conspicuously effective, it was due, at least in the writer's opinion, mainly to circumstances, and to irreconcilable difference of traditions and ideals. Moreover, who dare estimate, even now, the potency of their example?

PHILIP LEICESTER.

## IN DEFENCE OF DIALECT

**C**LASSICISM and romanticism are not irreconcilable enemies, nay, rightly understood, they are not enemies at all. If they stand for distinct truths, as we maintain, a higher synthesis will unite them. Unfortunately their champions are often apt to exaggerate; hence "the direful spring of woes unnumbered"; hence the battles between scholastic "Trojans" and humanist "Greeks". Unpruned exuberance is the bane of one and narrow formalism of the other.

A notable mark of the latter is contempt for dialects, impatience of provincialism, localism or "particularism" of expression. In the far-off July of 1914 I was staying at S. Luc, at the head of the Val d'Anniviers, in the Canton Valais of Switzerland. In this remote glen was still spoken a dialect evidently akin to Provencal, of extraordinary interest historical and philological. Among the guests at the only hotel was a young abbé from Paris, alert of mind and body and perfect in manners. With him, alas! it was a fixed idea that this dialect was merely a corruption of French; he called it so *sans phrase*. Nothing that I could suggest to the contrary made the least impression upon him, and I soon desisted. How curiously narrow in some respects is the Parisian temperament! What is the standard language of any country but the successful dialect, that local speech which happened to belong to the rulers and their capital? Does it imply any inherent superiority? Assuredly not. Was Latin in itself superior to Oscan or Sabine? That is certainly unproven, and the curious will find much interest and much food for thought in *The Italic Dialects* by Professor Conway, especially in the inscribed tablets of Gubbio, that most charming of provincial hill-cities, so dear to every Franciscan. In the time of Alfred the standard and dominant speech in England was West-Saxon, and had the capital not been moved the idiom of William Barnes would have been the standard English of to-day.

By very reason of their isolation dialects tend to be conservative, and it often happens that those very features derided by shallow citizens as "corruptions" preserve older

and purer literary forms than the standard speech. In *The Tablet* of July 9, 1921, "W.H.K." furnishes an apt illustration:

In this same parable we have a notable example of continuity and unanimity of translation. For the words "dormitaverunt omnes et dormierunt" are rendered in the Rhemish Testament "they slumbered all and slept"; for this Tyndale in 1534 has "all slombred and slepte," Cranmer in 1539 "they all slombred and slept," and A.V. in 1611, "they all slumbred and slept." We do not find any real change of words till we get back to Wycliffe in the fourteenth century. For he has "alle nappiden and slepten." And this shows little change from the Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, of the tenth century, "hnappedon hig ealle and slepon." The old verb, indeed, is modern enough; for we still talk of "taking a nap" and of "being caught napping." It may be noticed that the intruded "t" in the past tense of sleep is found in the literary English of the fourteenth century. But the Cockney child of to-day, true to the genius of the language, still says "slep" in the purer Saxon of the tenth century.

The late Mr. Kington Oliphant rejoiced to hear in Northumbria the old vernacular adjective "sackless" (innocent) on the lips of an old woman who very mistakenly apologized for her "bad English."

Such instances might be multiplied. The Lancashire "hoo" preserves a lost Anglo-Saxon pronoun; in the Shropshire "leasow" (pasture, water-meadow), and "nesh" (liable to catch cold) we have samples of substantive and adjective the standard speech was much the poorer for discarding. Suffolk has the beautiful old word "haysele" (hay season), and I remember my grandfather in September, 1899, using the old plural "shoon" in conversation.

An English traveller in France tells us how

the present owners of most of the country houses in Périgord, whether they belong to the old families or the new families, whether they put the noble particle before their names or not, have very much the same habits and manners. Not a few of them have never been to Paris, and in speech they often use old French forms, which sound strange in the ears of the modernized society of the North. . . . Their language is more grammatically correct than that now ordinarily used in conversation. They observe the true distinction of the tenses that sounds stiff and pedantic to those French people who move about and who consider that they live in the "world." To the unprejudiced foreigner, however, it is not unpleasant to hear this old-fashioned literary

French spoken in an easy, simple manner that removes all suspicion of affectation.<sup>1</sup>

Never shall I forget the joy of reading over the lintel of the opposite doorway, as I woke up one day in Lucerne in 1911, the inscription:

Gott b'schütz dies Hus  
Und all die göhnd i und us.

Had it been in "correct" German its appeal would have been much feebler. Indeed this very part of Switzerland preserves dialectally historical and other features of an ancestral High German invaluable to philologists and linguists. When I knelt in Strasburg Cathedral in 1913 an Alsatian dame came up to inform me "*Sie misen fir die Stihle bezohlen.*" The local Silesian dialect around Breslau preserves the sound of *oa* in the English *broad* which only occurs in standard German before *r*. I have preserved a ballad, "zum neua Joahre 1906" from the Breslauer General-Anzeiger (Jeneroal-Oazeiger) beginning:

Woas üns doas neue Joahr gebrucht  
Oan Glicke, Lust und Freede,

and

A kleenes 'Alltagsverzählse! von Helene Gräfin Waldersee  
in the Catholic *Schlesische Zeitung* of January 29, 1906.

In Italian Macugnaga one finds (or did in 1913) a German-speaking people. In the Carpathians I found in 1906 a German colony around Poprad and Tatrafured speaking a distinctly Saxon dialect. They were the descendants of miners imported from Saxony in the fourteenth century. They were islanded among Slovaks, and Magyar officials strove to impose the Magyar language upon them.

Among the many anomalies of conquered Ireland is that of preserving a specially pure English! The very sounds ridiculed by cockney journalists or by shallower pedants as "corrupt" record and maintain the sounds that Shakespeare heard and uttered. An excellent study of this may be found in Professor J. J. Walsh's *Modern Progress and History* (pp. 123 sqq.).

More wonderful still is the claim made by Professor A. Clery in *Studies*, December, 1921, that the local English pronunciation of Dublin preserves several features of the lost

<sup>1</sup> E. Harrison Barker, *Wayfaring in France* (1913), pp. 295-6.

Gaelic of Leinster, as for instance in the name *Glasnevin*, where *v* represents a Gaelic *dh*, which it never does in the surviving Gaelic of the other provinces, I believe.

Of the historical value of dialects let the following instance speak. From Palaeokastro on the East Coast of Crete, Professor J. L. Myres wrote to me on March 7, 1903:

If you care about the later stages of a fine Aryan speech, this is the place to come (to); Homeric vocabulary and the most amazing Romaic grammar. Yesterday I was advised, in going to a certain village, to seek out τὸν πλέον γεροντότατον ἀπὸ πάντων if I wanted information about certain ἀντίκας, and to-day a workman told me that the pot he had found was σσιβαρὸν (which I think dropped clean out of *written* Greek about 600 B.C.), the sense being exactly the Homeric one of "stout," "sturdy."

Shakespeare, in *King Lear*, preserves a still spoken Wessex idiom. The Shropshire "unbthought" is a last refuge of the Old English adverb (and preposition) *ymb*—corresponding to the German *um* and the Greek ἀμφί.

In the name "Sytych House," Dorrington, survives the Southern English equivalent of the Northern *syke*, a swamp. A document of the year 1601 gives a number of swamps then so named about the Longmynd, "Newe sytych . . . the Sponsitche . . . to Dunocke sytych heade" (in *Church Stretton*, 1904, Vol. II., p. 196).

In my diary for November 25th, 1907, I find: "The rain-swoln Cound Brook passes under a wooden bridge into a beautiful wooded glen, many copses mark its course. I askt a man the way to Pitchford; he told me that there was a path to the top of the 'bonk' whence a 'fut-road' led on, that would be 'a nigher way to the other.' It was rejoicing to hear such good native English, and still more pleased was I later on, on my walk back where the road divides at Pitchford to be told that the rightward road was 'the gainest way' to Berrington."

Again on September 30, 1905, a Longmynd shepherd, with whom I walked part of the way from Batchcot to Picklescote, described the Longmynd or hill sheep as being now (after cross-breeding) mostly "peckle-faced."

Dialect and local usage are also the last refuge of the vernacular poetry embodied in the native names of plants, animals, stars and other parts of nature. Even the severely critical *Athenæum* has been its champion. Reviewing a botanical work in 1907 it said:

The plates also include some of the popular names as well as the learned ones in English and Latin. This is a feature we are glad to see, for *we fear that modern education often neglects charming old-time designations such as "goldilocks," and encourages a learning which is but half ignorance, and at best odd Latin.* For this reason we should have been glad to see some record in the text also of popular names. It is severely scientific, and appeals chiefly to botanists, matters of folk-lore and popular nomenclature or medical usage being neglected or reduced to a minimum. [8 June, 1907; italics mine.]

Halliwell, I think, cites a happy mediæval name for the wild poppy, "bledewort," as still in local use in his day. Would that Ruskin's efforts to preserve and restore the English names to English botany had been seconded!

This familiarity (with native names) being necessary to cure our young students of their present ludicrous impression that what is simple in English, is knowing in Greek; and that terms constructed out of a dead language will explain difficulties which remained insoluble in a living one. But Greek is *not* yet dead; while if we carry our unscholarly nomenclature much further, English soon will be, and then doubtless botanical gentlemen at Athens will for some time think it fine to describe what we used to call caryophyllaceæ, as the *ἐδλγφίδες*.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes popular usage or even fancy will hit upon a striking substitute for the alien word in use; Halliwell gives a Yorkshire *outsetter* for *emigrant*; while a kinsman, who had some rough repairs done to a camera in a village received a reckoning "to mending one likeness-box." This would be about the year 1894.

That the aping of standard idiom by a country population does not tend to a higher civilization but very much the contrary, the experience of the modern period has proved, though it should need no proof. "Progress" has barbarized all it touched. In a weekly edition of *The Times* in January, 1913, a striking article upon the *New English Dictionary* and a book by Dr. Jespersen, was in agreement with the latter in deploring the snobbish prejudice against English word-formings such as "handbook" (which Dr. Trench disliked), "airman," etc., and the craze for ugly foreignizing such as "aeronaut," "aeroplane."

Although they all speak patois among themselves, they are reluctant to sing the songs of Périgord in the presence of strangers.

<sup>1</sup> *Proserpina*, I. viii. 167, § 29.



The young men are proud of their French, bad as it is, and a song in the café-concert style of music and poetry fires their ambition to excel on a festive occasion like this, whilst their patois ditties seem then only fit to be sung at home or in the fields. At length, however, they allow themselves to be persuaded and they sing in chorus a "Reapers' Song," composed long ago by some unknown Périgourdin poet, who was perhaps a jongleur or a troubadour. The notes are so arranged as to imitate the rhythmic movements of the reaper, first the drawing back of the right arm, then the stroke of the sickle, and lastly the laying down of the cut corn. There is something of sadness as well as joy in the repeated cadences of the simple song, and it moves the heart, for now the old men join in, and the sound gathers such strength that the little martins under the eaves must be pressing troubled breasts against their young.<sup>1</sup>

St. Jerome's compunction for his earlier Ciceronianism, St. Bridget's revelations and many other examples remind us how displeasing to the Almighty is the idolatry that sets style before truth. But there is more. Dialect has received a sanction that has strangely escaped the notice of its detractors, a sanction which is their standing refutation. Among the primary testimonies of Lourdes in 1858, M. Estrade's book, *The Appearances of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Grotto of Lourdes*, deservedly holds high place. On p. 246 of the English translation (1912) I read:

One day when she was talking with us, I said to her, "tell me, Bernadette, did the Lady of the Grotto speak to you in French or in patois?"

"Oh, patois."

"Bah! Do you mean to say that a lady of such lofty rank knows patois?"

"Yes." Then she added proudly, "And it was the Lourdes patois which she spoke."

H. E. G. ROPE.

<sup>1</sup> E. Harrison Barker, *Wayfaring in France* (1913), pp. 288—289.

## TO CHRISTIANIZE INDUSTRY

**W**HAT is the reason of the failure that has followed all attempts to rebuild the shattered world on a better plan, and of the almost total forgetfulness of those ideals of truth and justice and right-living which, during the war, touched even the man in the street and the busy journalist to a vision of an earth renewed? At that time our politicians loudly denounced militarism—the doctrine that might confers right: all joined then in condemning the newer and more destructive forms of war: then the immunity of the civilian in life and limb and property was vehemently defended: then the wickedness of aggressive warfare was universally condemned: then the perversity of international relations which made war a normal feature of policy was recognized. We were fighting, in fact, to end war, and that object was worth all the sacrifices it called for.

Now there are, by a million or so, more men under arms in Europe than before the war: the reduction of armaments, and still more the rationing of their manufacture, cannot proceed because some nations will not look for security to an all-inclusive league: and the military men, echoed and encouraged by the press, are busily habituating the minds of the new generation to the idea of future wars.

The reason plainly is that men will not try to rule their international dealings by the teachings of Christianity; we do not mean Christianity in its higher aims of unselfishness and sacrifice: a national entity, the purpose of which is welfare upon earth, and which in fact has no supra-terrestrial existence to look forward to, cannot be guided by the ideals which make for the greater perfection of the individual: but we mean Christianity in so far as it makes plain and emphasizes the natural law of justice, which commands fair-dealing between man and man, whether individually or collectively. Even that minimum of Christianity is too lofty for the rulers of this world. Self-interest rather than justice, wherever the two seem to clash, is still the ruling principle in diplomacy. Let no one say that, if we have to wait for Christian principles to rule diplomacy, we shall never reach the haven of justice. The principle needed, yet ignored, is older than Christianity, and is embedded in the very nature of man;

it flourished in ancient Rome; it is recognized amongst the pagans of our time; it is the bond of every society—it simply means due regard for the rights of others, due moderation in advancing one's own. Why this natural virtue, admittedly so necessary for civilized existence in every community, should not be thought beneficial if practised between nations is not easy to see. No doubt, lip-homage is paid to it, for man cannot formally deny what is part of his nature. Each nation says: "I'll be just if my neighbours are: I'll respect their rights if they will respect mine"—but no one takes any practical steps to ensure this universal regard for justice, such as are taken within its own borders. The machinery for a all-inclusive League of Nations has been set up, but no people has as yet given convincing proof of its belief in the efficacy of the League. This instrument of justice, this means of security, lacks the motive-power of good will, the fire of charity, the oil of mutual compassion. It has not yet begun to function to any real purpose.

The change of heart which we are waiting for in international relations, a change without which the best-designed machinery is of little use, has also failed to appear in social conditions, particularly in the relations between capital and labour. During the war statesmen realized that men would not go on fighting for a country which paid no heed to their sufferings in peace. "To let men," said Mr. W. Long, President of the Local Government Board, in 1916, "who were enduring so much at the front go from a water-logged and horrible trench to something little better than a pig-sty here would be criminal." Housing, therefore, he declared to be "the most urgent of all social reforms," "the most important and most pressing of all post-war tasks." Even before the war Mr. Bonar Law asserted his entire sympathy with the working class's desire for a fuller share in the amenities of life and the profits of industry,<sup>1</sup> whilst Mr. Lloyd George, after the war, advised the workers to be "audacious" in their demands for better conditions. But the workers, so far from being audacious, have only demanded work, and that their grateful country has largely failed to give them. Less is being done to provide houses than before the war, for the demands of the rich divert much labour from the production of necessities to the production of luxuries. The whole industrial machine has dropped back into the old grooves—

<sup>1</sup> *Times*, November 22nd, 1913.

wealth, not welfare, is its main aim, labour is treated as a commodity subject to the laws of supply and demand, a living wage is emphatically not the first charge upon industry, and there is no legal or social reprobation of usurious practices. The vision of a new earth, so powerfully delineated by the platform, the pulpit and the press, faded rapidly away before the realization of the fact that, even for the victors, the fruits of modern war must be trade depression, unemployment, want and rising prices, conditions entailing harder work under worse circumstances so as to make good the colossal squandering of blood and treasure. Hearts, though stirred for a time to nobler ideals, were not really changed. All the conquerors desired was relief from war's burdens and reparation for war's losses, whilst the conquered have sought, by manipulating financial systems and other devices, to escape the penalties assigned. Above all, there has been no practical recognition of the fact that the main cause of international strife is commercial rivalry, and that, therefore, the remedy for war should be sought in economic *ententes*. How could men be expected to apply that remedy abroad, whilst engaged at home in organized profiteering, trying by trusts, combines, corners, rings and every other monopolistic abuse, to grind down the worker and defraud the consumer? The international situation is but a faithful reflex of the national.

Earnest Christians in this deplorable crisis have not failed in their duty of exhortation. The Anglicans deserve much commendation for the issue of several clear, exhaustive and well-reasoned demands for a Christian spirit in industry. The report in 1918 of a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Anglican Archbishops, which is called "Christianity and Industrial Problems," lacks nothing in point of historical accuracy, moral enthusiasm and practical suggestion for the betterment of the world of commerce. The shorter and more recent pronouncement of the Lambeth Conference (1920) on "The Church and Industrial Problems" is equally enlightened and instinct with the spirit of Christ. The programme of "Christian Social Reconstruction," drawn up for the standing Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, and afterwards published in an expanded form by the C.S.G. with the title "A Christian Social Crusade" (Oxford: 1s. net), states with admirable clearness the un-Christian character of the evils that afflict the worker, and

indicates in great detail the necessary remedies. And all this is, as it were, but supplementary to the teaching authoritatively conveyed in the great Encyclicals of Leo XIII., "the Workers' Pope," on Labour and allied questions, teaching which forms the backbone of all Catholic social endeavour and which stands on record as a trenchant condemnation of much of the spirit and method of modern industry.<sup>1</sup>

This great body of economic doctrine, promulgated by various religious bodies, shows that industry cannot be divorced from ethics, that justice must rule *all* the dealings of man with man, and charity, brotherhood, forbearance, colour and supplement the application of justice. It has nowhere received a more direct or pointed exposition than in Cardinal Bourne's celebrated pastoral, "The Nation's Crisis" (Lent, 1918), and in the still more practical pamphlet, "Social Reconstruction," issued in 1919 by the American Bishops: pamphlets which should be in the hands of every Catholic worker.

If, then, there is ignorance, if there is apathy, if there is even hostility to necessary changes, amongst men who find their profit in the old order, that cannot be because those claiming to speak in the name of Christ have not vehemently and constantly voiced His ideals. It can only be because the commercial world, like the political, will not take Christian principles, in the sense explained, as its standard and rule. Not being able to combine the service of God and Mammon, it has practically abandoned the former. Yet even so, it does not secure its real interests. The labour world in Europe and America has been and is the scene of internecine conflicts which, whosoever wins, only injure both worker and employer. Some may seek their interest in fishing in troubled waters, but trade as a whole, the success of which requires a constant and efficient demand, is made unstable and precarious. Even from the purely material standpoint, as many writers point out, the friction between the two factors of wealth defeats the end of industry. A speedy and stable peace is necessary for a return of prosperity. The country is deeply impoverished, its liabilities have enormously increased, its means of meeting them greatly diminished, and the maldistribution of wealth, which was even a pre-war

<sup>1</sup> See *The Church and Labour* (Harding and More), edited by Doctors Ryan and Husslein, a valuable collection and summary of the modern Catholic application of the Church's tradition, voiced by her most authoritative teachers.

menace, has become more portentous still. Yet if there had been real peace in the labour world since the Armistice: if the capitalist had been content with a moderate profit and the labourer consented to temporary scaling-down of wages: if the huge and universal extravagance in dress and drink and luxury, which marked the reaction from the strain of war, had been checked: if the senseless waste of strikes had been avoided, the nation would have been in a far better condition than it is at present. International conditions of course account for much of our misery, but in the main the fault is in ourselves and not our stars that we are in such sad case.

Is it possible to recall the vision, to restore again that harmony of classes, which, in the field or on the home-front, made war-conditions more endurable and success more certain, to induce some measure of "enlightened selfishness" into the dealings of class with class? Can we get rid, completely and finally, of the landless man, the wage-slave, the whole unhuman idea of a proletariat? Not, once more, without a change of heart, a realization of human dignity even in the poorest, of the rights which immediately follow in every being the fact of existence. But Mr. Leacock, economist and man of humour, in his latest book — *How I Discovered England*—thinks that no change is necessary. His ideal for the revival of industry is to remove what slender restrictions there are upon individualistic greed. Let us give free rein, he says in effect, to the profiteer, let us release him from the penitentiary (if necessary) and allow full play to his unhallowed avarice. Then, when he has set the wheels of industry going again, we can put him back into gaol. This, we fear, is suspiciously like the old fallacy, so beloved of the Manchester School, so soothing to the anxious conscience, and so productive of misery to the worker, that the richer you yourself become the better for your country. We hope we have done with that philosophy of the pit. It is a libel on human nature to imply that the gratification of passion is a greater stimulus to effort than the pursuit of virtue, whether natural or supernatural. The Saints, those well-springs of prodigious energy, refute the libel on the one count, and the hosts of earnest men and women who, out of mere humanitarianism, devote their lives to the betterment of their fellows, refute it on the other. It does not need the spur of avarice, the hope of excessive gain, to prompt men to



work. Most of those who put their money into productive enterprise *have* to be content with moderate profits, and not a few, let us hope, do not seek more than their money's worth. The opportunity of making great wealth occurs, in the nature of things, to comparatively few men. Trade and industry can flourish sufficiently on small if certain profits.

Accordingly, without giving *carte blanche* to the predatory financier, whom, if he can be caught, the law will do well to put under lock and key, we must seek a better way of remedying the injustice of our time. It can be done without waiting till the whole country becomes converted to the practice of the true religion, though that, of course, would solve the question *eminenter*: it can be done, if only we can restore to industry the mediæval conception of the Just Price. The just price may be called a Catholic conception: at any rate, it ruled this country's commercial dealings when England was Catholic. But when the Church which protected the poor was made impotent, when the trader was emancipated from the traditional check of a common universally-accepted morality, when the cult of Mammon grew, and was declared by specious philosophies to be identical with the cult of God, then that doctrine was swept aside, and men set themselves to trade on their neighbour's needs and, for the benefit of commerce, to create and perpetuate needs to trade on. We need not recapitulate the sad story of the infamies practised on the "lower classes" during the Godless Industrial Revolution, and defended by philosophers and divines as part of the providential order: this Review has endeavoured *pro modulo suo* to keep them always before the public mind,<sup>1</sup> for unless they are recalled and remembered, we shall never diagnose our present diseases correctly. We need only point out that the net result of the practical abolition of Catholicism, as an influence directing public opinion in this country, was the removal of the curb of conscience from the passion of avarice, and the consequent enslavement of the bulk of the population. Yet conscience can be awakened, and law invoked to supplement it—and this is the task to which the very possession of the faith, apart from the exhortations of their spiritual rulers, calls the children of the Church in this land, the descendants of that remnant which survived the religious revolt of the sixteenth century and preserved the traditions of the past.

<sup>1</sup> See especially "The Two Nations," *THE MONTH*, Nov. 1917: "A Riddle Answered," by P. Leicester, Jan. 1922.

As we write, the Catholic Social Guild Summer School is in session at Oxford, and its proceedings will doubtless be recorded in our press with the prominence due to their importance. The Catholic Social Guild came into being thirteen years ago, having for general object the restoration to modern industry of Christian principles—the undoing, in effect, of the evil work of the Reformation in this particular. Its motto might well be “To restore the just price,” as security for the rights of capitalist, worker, and consumer alike. With slender resources and small membership it has laboured energetically for this Apostolic end, so beneficial to State no less than Church, and attained a measure of success out of all proportion to its means. Even when deprived by the death of its main inspirer and chief founder, Father Charles Plater, S.J., in 1921, of the very heart of its energies, it has continued to function with success, and, with an increased membership of just under 2,000, it has been the means of inaugurating that happy portent of our times, “The Catholic Workers’ College,” which has recently finished the first year of its existence. This College during the past year had only three members, besides the Principal, but Catholics, remembering the origins of their Church, will not smile at these scanty numbers. If the work before them is the work of God, as it assuredly is, its success will not wholly depend upon the resources in men and money upon which it can draw. This coming year, the College, which is, of course, as yet extra-University, will emerge from its chrysalis-form into a fine house of its own, and number nine or ten students.<sup>1</sup> These men are wholly supported during their two years’ course by bursaries raised in different localities, or supplied by individuals who have the acumen to appreciate the real import of the enterprise. For the *raison d’etre* of the College is this. As long as we are to have a working-class, debarred by circumstances of birth from full opportunities of education, they will listen more readily to men of their own order. And men imbued with Catholic culture, with its clear, logical, coherent ethical principles, will have enormous influence with those, and to-day there are many, who are in search of a sound basis for theory and a test of truth. Deprived though they have been, for

<sup>1</sup> The importance of also bringing Catholic working women into contact with higher education has been fully recognized by the C.S.G., and next year there will be opened in connection with the College a hostel for women students.

many generations, of Christian teaching, the working-classes of this country are still greatly under the influence of the Christian tradition, and are largely proof against the poison of materialism which has infected so much of the rest of Europe. They are not misled by the sophistries of Socialism and, on the other hand, are quick to see the soundness of the Catholic economic position, which, as hostile as they are to the abuses of Capitalism, yet stands like a rock in defence of man's natural right to private property. Our C.S.G. lecturers, whenever they have addressed non-Catholic working audiences, have met with favourable hearings, but the influence of their own comrades, in the workshop or the club, is even more powerful and more constantly applied. We need only recall the fact that it was prominent Catholic Trade Unionists that secured the excision of "secular education" from the official Workers' Programme.

Accordingly, the establishment of this College, where a thorough course of Christian ethics, logic, history and economics under able lecturers and tutors, is undergone by the students, themselves picked men in their districts, is an event of far-reaching importance both for the Catholic body and for the community at large. It is the finest fruit which the C.S.G. has yet produced, and it seems destined to perpetuate Father Plater's name as no other monument could. But though founded through and on the Guild, the College does not mark any term of its activities. It is not only amongst the workers that Christian principles need to be spread: it is even more important that the employer of labour should learn to put justice before profit and to arrange in their proper order the rights of God and of man. It is the employer who is most immediately concerned with the doctrine of the just price, *i.e.*, the forgoing, in the sale of his products, of profits which are too greatly in excess of the costs of production. It is for the employer to abandon or discourage practices which have for their object the victimizing either of worker or consumer. How is the employer, assuming he is as yet unenlightened, to be brought into touch with Christian ethics? What can the C.S.G. do for him?

Clearly the point of contact rests in the employer who has the gift of the Catholic faith, the capitalist Catholic. The Guild, we venture to think, should widen its scope to include him and his class. Not that he is formally excluded; on the contrary, he would be readily enrolled this instant, on

payment of the modest subscription. But there is no doubt that he is not specially catered for in the Guild literature, and of course it would be considered superfluous to provide a College for *him*. It would seem, therefore, advisable to make some further effort to induce well-to-do Catholics, who in so far as they do not work themselves are employers of labour, to join the C.S.G. in larger numbers and support and develop its activities. After all, it is they who are chiefly interested in the education of the worker: it concerns them most of all whether he is a Christian or a Bolshevik, and he can best be made a Christian by being treated according to the principles of Christ. It would be to the immense advantage to industry if *all* workers could take a two or three years' course at the Catholic College, for they would there learn not only their own rights as men and fathers of families, but also the rights of those for whom they work. That education would not make the worker more tolerant of injustice; rather would he gain a higher sense of his own dignity and of the difficulty of maintaining his self-respect under the modern wage-system unless he himself becomes in some sense a proprietor. But what the employer would lose in losing a dependent human tool, easily replaced if become inefficient or recalcitrant, he would more than compensate for in securing an honest and conscientious worker.

Moreover the union of all classes in the C.S.G. would itself foreshadow what the final effect of the Guild's efforts may be—the breaking down of those hard and fast distinctions which separate the State into two largely antagonistic nations,<sup>1</sup> check its prosperity at home and weaken its influence abroad. It would help to avert that abominable class-war, preached by infidel and materialist, which does not aim at human brotherhood and equality, but at the replacing of one tyranny by another. And if Catholic employers, who accept the present industrial system without too close an examination because they have to follow it or be left behind, are reminded that they have a duty to witness for Catholic morality even in business, can we say that this too will not benefit them. We do not think that anyone will

<sup>1</sup> Sketched by Pope Leo in a few masterly strokes. "On the one side there is the party which holds power because it holds wealth; which has in its grasp the whole of labour and trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is even represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other hand there is the needy and powerless multitude, broken down and suffering, and ever ready for disturbance."

suffer, even materially, by the application of Christian principles to commerce, at any rate in the long run. He might not become so wealthy as he would be otherwise, but, then, abnormal wealth is bad, a dangerous possession, both for the owner and for the community. Very few, even though Catholics, appreciate the fiduciary character of riches. Natural justice would suggest that, since the accumulation and retention of great wealth is only made possible by the co-operation and protection of society, society has a right to be considered in its administration. The State, by its graduated taxation and its death-duties, enforces this dictum of natural justice. But Christ's law goes far beyond the State in insisting on the worthy expenditure of superfluous riches: His teaching brands as offenders against fraternal charity all those who do not contribute out of their superfluities to the relief of the less fortunate, and, moreover, His teaching condemns not a few of those methods of acquiring wealth which the civil law and an evil human convention tolerate. One sees enterprises advertised as sound, yet offering dividends of one hundred or two hundred per cent: such advertisements should be punished as common theft is punished. And a large proportion of the commercial world, in the guise of speculators, agents, unnecessary middlemen, is preying upon the rest: such men are purely parasitic: they work not, neither do they spin, except financial webs to entrap the unwary. The criminal law should deal with them.

Law is largely inoperative unless supported by public opinion, and public opinion in this country, although on the mend, has not nearly recovered its Christian tone after the poisoning it received in the last two centuries from the Godless individualist. And this is the reason for our plea for greater support for such organizations as the C.S.G. from all classes of Catholics, from the millionaire, if we have any, to the worker himself. And furthermore, we need union with similar organizations in Europe and the Americas, for, however conditions differ, the fundamental principles laid down by the Church are everywhere the same, and in their larger aspects the problems we are called upon to solve are identical. Take the Living Wage. At the Oxford Summer School attention was usefully called to that section of the League of Nations which deals with labour conditions on an international basis. Defective as is the status of the worker in this country, in many other lands, including, strange to say,

the United States, it is very much worse. Labour is too cheap there, for in that land of immense natural wealth, flooded with impecunious immigrants, the cult of Mammon has found an exceptionally favourable field, and, according to the testimony of Dr. J. A. Ryan, the distinguished economist of Washington University, the labour movement in the States is thirty years or so behind that of this country in securing justice for the worker. Often he has not got a living wage. It may possibly be that one reason which caused the American Government to look askance at the League of Nations was the presence of this provision for an International Labour Court, which would leave the American capitalist less free to arrange conditions of labour according to his interest.

And thus American Catholics must also help to educate public opinion to a recognition of the human rights of the worker. Their leaders have boldly led the way: their press is generally appreciative of the need of reforming industry. The National Catholic Welfare Council, all the stronger for the misconception which nearly caused its dissolution, is working assiduously on the same lines as our Social Guild. The writings of Dr. J. A. Ryan, whose lectures the Summer School are having the privilege of listening to, are amongst the boldest and clearest applications of the Church's doctrine which have yet appeared in print. Father Husslein, S. J., and others of *America's* staff, are busy holding up the Catholic ideal. There is no more salutary work, outside the actual administration of the means of grace, than this endeavour to re-baptize the industrial world and so to regulate by regard for justice the concupiscence of man that it may serve as a stimulus without leading to excess. And Catholics everywhere are called upon to combine in the pursuit of this Apostolate.

THE EDITOR.



## "REDEMPTIONS" OF PENANCE

### AND THE ORIGIN OF INDULGENCES

IT was with Luther's denunciation of Indulgences that the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century began, and everyone who has had much experience of the difficulties felt by honest and intelligent converts will agree that the Catholic doctrine and practice of Indulgences must still be counted among the more serious obstacles which block the way to the reunion of Christendom. Under these circumstances the publication at last of a satisfactory book on the subject,<sup>1</sup> which, from an historical point of view, can safely challenge hostile criticism, deserves recognition as a service of the very highest order rendered to the cause of Catholic scholarship. No doubt the greater part of the contents of this admirable volume have in some form or other already seen the light. For more than twenty-five years Dr. Paulus has been discussing the different aspects of his subject with extraordinary thoroughness. But his articles have appeared in many different periodicals. If the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* has been favoured with the largest share, the *Katholik* of Mainz, the *Historische Zeitschrift* of the Görres Gesellschaft, the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, and many other journals of less note, have also profited by his amazing industry. It is a great gain, therefore, to have this immense mass of material condensed and brought to a focus within a single pair of covers. Dr. Paulus hopes to complete his work, to which he has given the title, *A History of Indulgences in the Middle Ages*, in two volumes. At present he has only published the first, which brings the subject down to the middle of the fourteenth century. But the second volume, we are told, is ready for the press, and it may be confidently asserted that the reception of this instalment will be such that the publishers will have no cause to hesitate about setting to work upon the other without delay. For the first time we have a History of Indulgences which is worthy of the name.

Dr. Paulus begins by telling his readers in the words of Seeberg that Indulgences are simply an evolution of the very

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, von Dr. Nikolaus Paulus; Vol. I., pp. xii.—392, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1922.

old idea that the Church has the power to mitigate, or altogether to remit, canonical penance. But, as he is careful to point out, neither the relaxation of the penalties imposed upon the incestuous Corinthian (II Cor. ii. 5 seq) nor the reconciliation conceded through the *libelli pacis* embodying the intercession of the martyrs for those who in the early centuries had fallen away from the Faith, can be regarded as Indulgences in any strict sense. These things involved, no doubt, an exercise of the power of the keys, and they prepared the ground for the developments which were to follow, but they fail in more than one respect to satisfy the definition of an Indulgence which was given by the scholastics of a later age. In the first place, they were accorded only in view of the circumstances of each particular case, and secondly, they were intimately connected with the reconciliation of a penitent or, in other words, with sacramental absolution. It is not, therefore, until we come to the eleventh century, or thereabouts, that any approximation is reached of the practice which ultimately established itself. The principal factor in the realization of this new set of conditions which eventually gave birth to the Indulgence system, was the general introduction of Penitentials with their tariff of penances for sins. These tariffs, which were of Celtic origin and can be traced as far back as the sixth century, were introduced first into Great Britain, and then through Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries were widely adopted throughout western Europe. That they were later regarded both at Rome and elsewhere with much disapproval did little to check their popularity, for the clergy as well as the laity of that age were as a rule rude and illiterate, and even intelligent bishops like Theodore of Canterbury and Egbert of York seem to have judged that a rough tariff of sins and penances supplied the best means of coping with the ignorance and terrible moral excesses which everywhere prevailed. But the penances scheduled in these lists were more severe than the half-civilized Teutons and Celts of the Carolingian epoch could be induced to submit to. Homicide committed in a fit of passion was a common thing in those days, and so also, no doubt, was adultery, but the tariff of penances assigned for both these crimes a seven years' fast, the three first years on bread and water.<sup>1</sup> It is barely credible that any force of

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the commonly accepted measure of penance even at the beginning of the eleventh century. See B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, II., pp. 267—271, nn. 6 and 18.

public opinion could have been strong enough in those wild times to keep the average man faithful in carrying out such self-inflicted discipline. And there were many other harassing disabilities attached to the status of a penitent, upon which for the moment it is unnecessary to expatiate. The fact, in any case, remains beyond dispute that the penances could not be enforced. Mitigation of some sort became necessary, and this at first seems to have taken the form of leaving a considerable discretion with the confessor or the bishop to reduce the penalty in view of his knowledge of the penitent's dispositions. But it did not prove a satisfactory settlement in practice, and it gave place in time to a system of fixed commutations (known as *redemptiones*) which were apparently recognized as lawful by ecclesiastical authority. Instead of long periods of fasting, other austerities, such as hundreds of Psalms or of Paternosters (said with genuflections), self-flagellations, and more particularly money payments, either by way of alms to the poor or of contributions for the building of churches, etc., were enjoined upon the delinquent as an alternative. These commutations incontestably paved the way for the Indulgences, properly so-called, of a later date. Even though at the beginning the commutation was only granted in view of the circumstances of the individual case as judged by the priest with whom the reconciliation of the penitent ultimately rested, still the practice was soon generalized, and we find as early as the year 895 that a national Council at Tribur, near Mainz, recognized that the penitent "had a right" (*jus habeat*) to choose the milder alternative of almsgiving in a prescribed amount, in preference to fasting, during the greater period of the penance enjoined.<sup>1</sup> The additional fact that in England, for example, these *redemptiones* were not only tabulated, but translated into the vernacular, must have contributed notably to popularize the idea that the canonical penances imposed were rather of the nature of a standard of relative wergilds or compensations, and were not in themselves absolute and irremissible. Undoubtedly there is a substantial difference between such commutation of penance and a true Indulgence; for the latter, as generally understood, concedes a *remission* of penance or penalty, whereas the former supposes the performance of some work which ecclesiastical authority is benignantly disposed to regard as an equivalent. But in point of fact

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, I., p. 16.

these optional equivalents, as we shall see later from one or two Anglo-Saxon examples, were always much less onerous than the original penance which they replaced, and the impression must inevitably have been produced that the atonement exacted by the Canons was not sacrosanct, but could be readily mitigated or even dispensed with. A further important difference between the *redemptiones* and a true Indulgence lay in the fact that the latter was often granted, even from the beginning, quite independently of sacramental absolution or of admission to penance, to all who performed some assigned work of piety. The "redemption" bore reference to a penance previously imposed, but it did not necessarily emanate from the individual human authority who had originally exacted the performance of the penance.

Be this as it may, it seems certain from the careful examination which Dr. Paulus has made of the earliest alleged examples of the grant of an Indulgence proper, that the first authentic traces of any concessions which deserve to be so described, come from the south of France or the north of Spain, and are not more ancient than the first half of the eleventh century. Bishops Pontius of Glandève and Frodon of Sisteron seem, at some time before the year 1029, to have granted to all penitents who assisted at the consecration of the Church at Psalmody a remission of one day's fast out of the three enjoined them per week. They also apparently contemplated a penance which was only to last forty days, promising a complete absolution of all sins to those who might die before that period expired.<sup>1</sup> Again, the bishops of Carcassonne and Narbonne in 1035 profess to accord an anticipation of absolution, without further penance, to all who contributed bread and wine, or gold, or silver, on the occasion of the consecration of the Abbey church of St. Peter de Portella.<sup>2</sup> But perhaps the least doubtful concession of all is that recorded of Bishop Deodatus of Toulon who in 1050 remitted for all penitents who visited or contributed to the still unfinished church of Pierrefeu one fasting day per week out of those enjoined, excepting during the seasons of Lent and Advent.<sup>3</sup> Soon after this we begin to hear of relaxations of a definite proportion, *e.g.*, of a fourth part, or a third part, or a half, of the total penance assigned. The remission of a specified number of days or years was, so far as the form is concerned, of later introduction, but it had established

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, *l.c.* p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

itself in the course of the twelfth century. For example, at the consecration of the Temple Church in London by Heracilius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185, we read how the consecrator granted "a remission (*indulgentiam*) of sixty days from the penance imposed upon them" to all who visited the church on the anniversary of its dedication.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, on the occasion of the enthronement of St. Hugh of Lincoln in his cathedral in 1186, we learn from Benedict of Peterborough that the bishop granted "to all who in honour of Almighty God and out of veneration for St. Michael's day had come to the function on that occasion, thirteen days relaxation of the penance enjoined them."<sup>2</sup>

It would be interesting to follow Dr. Paulus further into the details of his extraordinarily minute and critical investigation of the evolution of the Indulgence system. He deals very fully, as might be expected, not only with the crusading Indulgences, which foreshadow for us the Plenary Indulgences of a later period, but also with early Indulgences for the Dead, and he analyses with care the teaching on the whole question which we find in the Scholastics and Canonists of the thirteenth century. But I am tempted upon these points to refer the earnest student to the book itself, and retracing my steps to invite the reader's attention for a brief space to the exceptionally valuable materials furnished by our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in connection with the tariff of the Penitentials and the system of *Redemptiones*. It may be that Dr. Paulus is postponing any reference to this Anglo-Saxon evidence until he comes to discuss the doctrine of the Treasury of the Church (*Die Lehre von Kirchenschatz*) in his second volume, but as I have not remarked any mention in his pages of Thorpe's very useful work, *The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, I venture to make a few quotations from the picture of the Anglo-Saxon penitential discipline which is therein presented. But first of all, from "a Worcester Cathedral Book," now at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, I may borrow a formula, dating probably from the latter part of the ninth century, which seems to preserve for us the terms in which a penitent was informed of the obligations belonging to his new status. It runs as follows:

By these present letters we impose upon thee N. a penance of five (or seven) years. And in the first year do thou lay aside thy weapons and forbear to come to communion. When the people

<sup>1</sup> Baylis, *The Temple Church*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict (Rolls Series), I. p. 353.

assemble in church thou must hear Mass only at the church door. If however there is no gathering of the people in the church, thou mayest enter with the priest and pray. Thou must abstain from all marital relations with thy wife and from any sort of fornication. In the whole of that year eat no flesh except on Sundays and from Christmas Day to the Epiphany and in Easter week and at Pentecost and the Ascension of our Lord and the festivals of the Twelve Apostles and St. John Baptist and of the Saints whose relics rest in this diocese (*parrochia*). On three days of each week, that is to say on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, thou must drink no wine, and on the other three week-days thou must drink but sparingly (*caute*). In Easter week thou must every day bestow of thy sustenance to one poor man; and whenever thou eatest or drinkest beware that thou indulge not to satiety or intoxication. As regards the bathing of thy body and the cutting of thy hair thou must depend upon the good pleasure of thy parish priest. But if for this first year thou submittest willingly to discipline, thou shalt afterwards with God's favour be dealt with more mildly.<sup>1</sup>

This, it will be felt, is a pretty severe régime, but it by no means represents the system in its most rigid form. The promise of mitigation at the end of the first twelvemonth is particularly to be noted. And since there is question here of a mitigation committed apparently to the discretion of the confessor, it may be interesting to cite from the same source a papal document of A.D. 1008 emanating from Pope John XVIII.:

John, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to Wulfstan, the venerable archbishop, most dear to us, greeting and apostolic benediction. This man (the bearer), for a fratricide committed by him and for other crimes of his, has visited the shrines of the Apostles to obtain from us the alleviation of penance. For the aforesaid fratricide we have imposed on him a penance for the rest of his life to this effect that (every week) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, he should fast on bread and water, that he should (only) enter the church at Christmas and Easter, and (only) eat meat on Sunday, and the principal feasts. On the three days on which he fasts he must wear woollen clothing and go bare foot. He must not give the kiss of peace, he must not cut his hair except three times a year, and he must not receive Communion except on his death bed. If in this man's case you think fit to apply any remedy, we give you leave.<sup>2</sup>

But of very special interest is the eleventh-century tractate

<sup>1</sup> M. Bateson in *English Historical Review*, 1895, Vol. X., p. 727.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 729.



printed by Thorpe and entitled *Be Dædbétan* (Of Penitents). A few extracts, I venture to think, will not be unacceptable.

The writer does not in any way minimize the severities of the system, as, for example, when he tells us:

It is a deep penitence that a layman lay aside his weapons, and travel barefoot, and nowhere pass a second night, and fast and watch much, and pray fervently, by day and night, and voluntarily suffer fatigue, and be so squalid that iron come not on hair nor on nail. Nor that he come into a warm bath, nor into a soft bed, nor taste flesh, nor anything from which drunkenness may come, nor that he come within a church, but yet diligently seek holy places, and declare his sins, and implore intercession, and kiss no one, but be ever fervently repenting his sins.

Roughly he fares who thus constantly calls himself to account, and yet is he happy if he never relax, till he make full "bōt"; because no man in the world is so very criminal that he may not make atonement to God if only he undertake it fervently.

Many further counsels are added to perform diligently the works of mercy, to contribute to the building of churches and bridges, to emancipate slaves, to give alms to the poor, etc. The tone of moral exhortation is in fact so high that one is surprised at the conclusion of the piece to find the following two paragraphs; although it is to be noted in the first that these compensations are only propounded to meet the case of a penitent who is *sick*:

Herein is declared how a sick man may redeem his fast. A man may redeem one day's fast with one penny; a man may also redeem one day's fast with 220 psalms; a man may also redeem a fast of twelve months with 30 shillings; or let a man be freed who is worth that money; and for one day's fast, let a man sing *Beati immaculati* (Ps. 118) six times and six times *Pater noster*; and for one day's fast let a man kneel and bend 60 times to the earth, with *Pater noster*; a man may also redeem one day's fast, if he prostrate himself with all his limbs to God at his prayers and with true repentance and orthodox faith, and 15 times sing *Miserere mei Deus*, and 15 times *Pater noster*; and then shall at all times be granted him a lightening of his sins.

A seven years' fast a man may compensate in 12 months, if he every day sing the psalter of the psalms, and a second at night and a fifty at even. Also with one Mass a man may redeem a 12 days' fast; and with 10 Masses a man may lighten a four months' fast . . . ; if he will with true love of God supplicate for

himself and confess his sins to his confessor, and so atone for them as he shall direct him and carefully ever abstain.<sup>1</sup>

But by far the most interesting document of this kind is the following, which in spite of its length it seems worth while to copy entire:

#### OF POWERFUL MEN.

Thus may a powerful man, and rich in friends, with the support of his friends, greatly lighten his penance.

1. First, in the name of God, with the testimony of his confessor, let him manifest orthodox belief, and have compassion on all those who have sinned against him; and do his confession boldly, and promise cessation and undertake penance with much sighing.

2. Let him then lay aside his weapons and vain ornaments, and take a staff in his hand, and go bare foot zealously, and put on his body woollen or hair-cloth, and not come into a bed but lie on the ground; and so do that in three days the series of seven years be dispensed with thus: let him proceed with aid; and first let him take to him 12 men, and let them fast three days on bread, and on green herbs, and on water; and get in addition thereto, in whatever manner he can, seven times 140 men, who shall also fast for him three days; then will be fasted as many fasts as there are days in 7 years.

3. When a man fasts, then let the dishes that would have been eaten be all distributed to God's poor, and the three days that a man fasts let him abandon every worldly occupation, and by day and by night, the oftenest that he can, let him remain in church, and, with alms-light, earnestly watch there, and cry to God, and implore forgiveness with groaning spirit, and kneel frequently at the sign of the cross; sometimes up, sometimes down, extend himself; and let the powerful man try earnestly to shed tears from his eyes and bewail his sins; and let a man then feed those three days as many of God's poor as he possibly can, and on the fourth day bathe them all, and shelter them and distribute money; and let the penitent himself employ himself in washing their feet; and let as many Masses be said for him on that day as can possibly be obtained, and at the last let absolution be given him; and then let him go to Housel (Holy Communion), unless he be so highly criminal that he yet cannot; and then let him at least promise that he ever thenceforth will perform God's will; and through God's succour, ever abstain from every unrighteousness to the utmost of his power; and his Christianity righteously uphold, and every heathenism totally cast away; both thoughts and habits, words and works, diligently correct; every righteousness promote, and unrighteousness suppress, through God's succour, as he ever most diligently

<sup>1</sup> B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, etc., II., pp. 281—287.

may; and to his own great benefit he does it, who performs that which he promised to God.

4. This is the alleviation of the penance of a man powerful, and rich in friends; but one not possessing means may not so proceed; but must seek it on himself the more diligently; and this is also justest, that every one avenge his own misdeeds on himself, with diligent "böt." Scriptum est enim quia unusquisque onus suum portabit.<sup>1</sup>

One would very much like to know how far this method of evading the canonical penances was actually carried into practice. The suggestion that a powerful man, by putting constraint on an army of friends and dependents, could work out a seven years' penance in three days is rather a startling one. There can be no doubt that the idea of vicarious expiation was by no means new in the Anglo-Saxon Church. The Council of Clovesho in 747 protested energetically against an exaggeration of this belief in the case of a certain man, "rich in this world's goods," who had induced a number of people to promise to fast and to recite psalters for him, and who boasted that if he lived till he was three hundred years old, sufficient vicarious expiation had been made for him to cover all his penance.<sup>2</sup> It would seem, however, that in this instance the wealthy noble thus denounced had not fasted himself or shown any signs of contrition, and the Council notwithstanding recommends that a penitent should seek the prayers of others to intercede for him in his penance. Again, Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, who died in 821, speaking of the case of a sinner who was sick unto death and unable to perform penance for himself, directs the priest to engage those who were responsible for him to undertake the fasting and other works of expiation in his place.<sup>3</sup> A similar course was recommended by the Council of Mainz in 847.<sup>4</sup> In any case this idea, even in its exaggerations, points strongly to an undercurrent of belief which held fast to the principle of the Communion of Saints and to that solidarity of the Faithful in all good works, which is after all the foundation of the theological doctrine of the Treasury of the Church. And the doctrine of the "Treasury," based upon the Communion of Saints, lies at the root of the whole of the Church's teaching about Indulgences in the last six hundred years.

HERBERT THURSTON.

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II., pp. 287—289.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III., pp. 373—374.

<sup>3</sup> Migne P.L. 105, 220.

<sup>4</sup> Mansi, xiv. 890.

# MISCELLANEA

## I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

### THE FORTHCOMING MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

THOSE readers who were present at a rather remarkable non-Catholic Missionary Exhibition at the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington, will have felt, not unreasonably, that the Catholic Church in this country was hardly energetic enough in making known to the world the details of her own Apostolic endeavour that is being pursued overseas. They may also have realized that the scope of the aforesaid Exhibition was ethnological rather than religious. There it was explained to us in the most charming and lucid manner how the various races of the world made their clothes and cooked their evening meal, but, except for the stalls of the Bible Societies, there was little information as to how Christians were made. Yet surely this should have been to the fore, "first, last and all the time." Possibly the omission was due to a certain diffidence in explaining their methods; at any rate we went away unsatisfied. If the same shyness has held some Catholic missionaries tongue-tied, the reticence on the part of Ecclesiastical Superiors sprang from a very different cause. They were quietly maturing their purpose and biding their time. The work of the Foreign Missions was to be duly advertised, but the year 1922 was the fore-ordained date; how that came to be we must now explain.

Part of the mechanism employed by the Church during the period of the Counter-Reformation was a complete system of administrative departments, among which the Sacred Congregation, "De Propaganda Fide," held a very prominent place. Its work was twofold, the regaining of the lands severed from her by heresy, and the evangelization of those vast territories which had but lately become known through the hardy endeavours of the sixteenth century explorer. In 1622, therefore, the Congregation was definitely established, and on the first count England naturally came under its immediate jurisdiction. The gradual rebuilding of the Church upon the ruins made by the Elizabethan apostacy, the steady forward-movement which culminated in the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in this country, were due to the

fostering care of this great Congregation. True, the Constitution of Pius X. (1908) has removed England from its direct jurisdiction, but very much of its missionary character has remained. The world-wide growth of the British Commonwealth and other influences has designed the land of Bede, Allen and Milner to become a centre radiating Catholic activity. Itself once a "missionary country," Great Britain is gradually assuming the task of evangelization in turn. Thus it comes to pass that our gratitude for past favours, intertwined with our appreciation of the graces of the present, calls forth from the English Catholic Body, on occasion of the Third Centenary of "Propaganda," a solemn external act of national thanksgiving.

Nor is this all. On other grounds, 1922 was marked out to be an anniversary consecrated to missionary effort. By a happy coincidence the Association for the Propagation of the Faith was founded in Lyons in 1822; and what it has done for the Catholic mission-field by collection of alms, organization of lay-help and the supply of material consolations, which it has rendered to the solitary missionary and his struggling neophytes, is this year fittingly commemorated as one of the glories of the Church of our day.

With a view to celebrating in some worthy way this double anniversary, which recalls the debt this country owes to those two great organizations, the Catholic Hierarchy of this country has decreed the holding of a Triduum of Thanksgiving in Westminster Cathedral, beginning on Thursday, September 28th, and concluding on Sunday, October 1st. The Cathedral celebrations will of course be entirely religious, consisting of daily Pontifical High Mass and appropriate discourses, but it will also include, as advertisements point out, conferences, sermons and lectures in the Cathedral Hall, detailing the history, scope and development of Catholic missionary enterprise, and an exhibition in the Cathedral grounds of matters connected with the missions. The whole will conclude with a public Demonstration and solemn Procession in the Cathedral of all those religious Orders and Congregations which have missionary activities abroad.

It is in order to bring home more clearly to the public the individual work of all these Societies that, on each of the four days of the celebration after the church services, there will be held within the Cathedral precincts the first Catholic Missionary Exhibition that has ever taken place in

this land. The details of this undertaking are in the hands of Canon Ross, who is Director of the British Branch of the S.P.F., and who is aided by other clerics and a band of zealous ladies belonging to various organizations. It only remains for the laity in London and in the provinces to show their whole-hearted appreciation both of the labours of the organizers and of the spiritual fruits conferred upon the country by these two apostolic institutions.

Readers will be interested to have before them some sort of forecast of the events in preparation. On the afternoon of Friday, September 28th, the Exhibition will be opened with the usual formalities. The space devoted to this purpose is the large playground of the Cathedral Choir School. Autumn weather is an uncertain factor, and the whole exhibition will therefore be under cover. The stalls will be about thirty in number, each with appropriate scenery, and in charge of the religious who serve the particular mission-field. Their object in every case will be to explain to visitors the character and details of the work and the methods employed in the particular circumstances to win souls to God. Thus the White Fathers will have much to tell of Central and Northern Africa; the Assumptionists, of the Near East; the Society of Jesus, as far as the English Province is concerned, of the Zambesi and British Guiana; the Mill Hill Fathers, of the Nile, Congo and the Philippines, and so of the rest. In a special annex, termed "The African Village," a greater attempt at realism will be made. We hear also that native dances and similar pretty effects will form an attractive feature.

Secondly, there will be a series of Lantern Lectures and Addresses delivered by prominent missionaries, and some such titles as these may be looked for: "Missions of the XIII. Century," "The Story of Uganda," "The Society of Jesus in Paraguay," and, the most remarkable of all, a cinema film, "The Catholic Missionary in Equatorial Africa."

On Friday, September 29th, which happens to be the anniversary of the Re-establishment of the Hierarchy in 1850, there will be held in the evening a General Meeting in the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Children, who often display more zeal for foreign missions than their elders, will have a Special Demonstration on Saturday afternoon organized by Father Hall, Director of the Holy Childhood.

It may surprise the general public to be told that in



England alone there are over fifty separate Orders and Congregations, male and female, who have at the present moment definite work in the mission-field. The limits and extent of this great mass of spiritual activity will be made clear by a remarkable series of maps, which have been specially prepared for the Exhibition, and which will be carefully explained to all and sundry in the course of proceedings.

E.K.

## EAT NO FISH.

**I**N *King Lear* (i. 4, 12), the good Kent thus recommends himself to his master: "I do profess to be no less than I seem; to serve him truly that will put me in trust; to love him that is honest; to converse with him that is wise, and says little; to fear judgment; to fight when I cannot choose; and to *eat no fish*."

To many, plain Catholics and plain Protestants, the meaning might be simple. *King Lear* was written early in James I.'s reign; and the bright Occidental Star had lately set (1603) in the blood of England's old religion; and Our James had paid the price of his Catholic mother's blood, and was Protestant Head in all Britain. England was settling into Protestantism. And Anglican Protestantism was the religion that poured meat-soup, on fast days, down fish-thirsting Irish Catholic child-throats; thus to get, perforce, at their souls, for the soiling and the spoiling. And, therefore, when Kent said he will eat no fish—on fast days—he is a good Protestant of the State Church of England, and loyal to the Crown of Shakespeare's happy anachronisms.

But it is not all so plain, nor so simple.

The first Protestant prayer-book of Cranmer had no days of Fasting and Vigil. And men wondered a bit at meat in Lambeth Palace of the married Archbishop of Canterbury, "a thing never heard of heretofore." True, as soon as the boy Edward VI. had come to the throne, a Dr. Glasier had preached, at Paul's Cross, that "Lent was not ordained of God to be fasted, neither the eating of flesh to be forborne"; while another preacher, *for* the Lenten observance, had, by order of King and Council, to retract. And from the outset of the Reformation riot, the "belly cheer" business was cried up, to the great comfort of nature; with which, said preachers, fasting interfered. The Council, and

Bishops,<sup>1</sup> even turned Good Friday into a day "for jolly belly cheer," as they called it. (Wherein the country of which those new bishops and their successors were, for long ages, the only religious teachers with a free hand, came, indeed, to better the instruction.)

And yet, from the beginnings of the new Church, there were men, and many men, within it, whose spirit was not always merely to rejoice, because Christ had died; without any watching, praying, or fasting, or fear of temptation, or acknowledgment that Christ's Passion was for them, as long as they could sin and suffer here below. They had common sense, of things as they are; and they were minds naturally Catholic. And so, through Jeremy Taylor, by Dean Swift, to Dr. Johnson, "spare fast" did seem the way to diet with God; and to cram was the way to blaspheme the Giver.

That Christian tradition persisted, under official or ordinary Anglicanism—in some sort up to the modern anxious effort to open up the old path and get rid of the Reformation.

Moreover—and this is the point—from the first fall of the Catholic order, the State had a feeling for the fish. The Parliament enacting the First Protestant Prayer Book (1549), with its praying to be "delivered from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," and with its abolishing all laws as to fasting and abstinence heretofore used under the Pope's religion, nevertheless did also enact, that "in Lent, on Ember Days, on Fridays, on Saturdays, and on any other day declared fast day"—by the religion that was ready to replace the crucifix by the royal arms—"none should eat flesh." It was a matter of interest, a national matter, a royal call, not from the cross. We fast or abstain for what we gain thereby in this world.

The Elizabethan Council's letter to the altar-smasher, Archbishop Grindal, 1576, ran: "We require your lordship to give order . . . that ministers and preachers shall declare . . . that statutes be observed duly for the observation of the embering and fish days, . . . as is requisite in policy for the maintenance of mariners, fishermen, and the navy of the realm, . . . and further to declare to the people that the same is not required for any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore used (which utterly are detested), but only to maintain the mariners and navy in this land by setting men

<sup>1</sup> Professor Kennedy notes this, in his *Tudor History*.

a-fishing." One is reminded of a late nineteenth-century occupant of Canterbury, who detested incense when arising in the way of symbolizing prayer, but said that incense in church might be used like sanitas or chloride of lime, so as to take away anxiety from all devotees of hygienics therein assembling themselves together.

On that correspondence with Grindal, a later Protestant prelate (Bishop Warburton) notes, that "when the eating fish was enjoined for a season by Act of Parliament, for the encouragement of the fish towns, it was thought necessary to declare the reason"; and "it was called 'Cecil's' fast"; "the eating fish on a religious account being then esteemed such a badge of popery"; and "the papists being esteemed, and with good reason, enemies to the Government." (Which Government, in Warburton's day, endowed him with part plunder of at least two old papistical abbeys, Durham and Gloucester.) Indeed, when laws are the enemies of subjects, subjects will be the enemies of laws.

Warburton cites Marston's [1605] *Dutch Courtezan*, contemporary with Shakespeare's *Lear*: "I trust I am none of the wicked that eate fish a Fridaies." And such allusions point to a Catholic "wickedness," other than that of wickedly hurting the men of fish. In the growing Puritan mind, fish-eating days were redolent of old Catholicism. Marston, of course, like Shakespeare, was of the generation when they were all the children of Catholic parents, or ex-Catholic. Christian tradition lingering on, in this, as in other things, did, indeed, make the rulers, as well as the ruled, say that fish-eating was a decent duty. In those self-deceiving Elizabeth times, "eating flesh in the season of Lent" is called "licentious and carnal disorder in contempt of God and man, and only to the satisfaction of devilish and carnal appetite," butchers selling flesh in Lent, are "ministering such foul lusts of the flesh." Wherein, the man interested, publicly or privately, in the fish trade, and fisheries, and marine, could feel good, in more ways than one. That was the age, when, as Froude allows, the looking after "number one" was becoming enlightened selfishness, and a thing of virtue; though it had been a horror, only to be condemned or checked, in the preceding Catholic generations; before "the creed of a thousand years was made a crime by a doctrine of yesterday." And so, the religious camouflage, over the "eat no fish" law-making, seems to be much as: "Don't ye

marry for money, but go where money is. Seem to be the thing you are not; yet ever feel that you are that good thing; deceiving your own selves." It seems a product of the Pharisee mind.

You have, if sick, in Elizabeth's fifth year, to get license from her bishops or curates (*curés*), to eat flesh for the good of your body; but even then, for the good of the navy, you must have one course of fish for one course of flesh—according to that year's "Act touching Politick Constitutions for the Maintenance of the Navy."

"In the year of King James, of England the sixteenth, and of Scotland the fifty second," a "right worp<sup>le</sup> Francis Munday, (Mackworth, Derby), for the avoiding of the penalties and dangers of the laws and statutes made for the restrainte of eating flesh in Lent," grants to Dorothy Poole, old, very weak and sickly, license to eat flesh. So, in 1660, to Sir John Yonge—for whom—"two approved physicians certified as to the necessity of his eating flesh"—did John Wilkins, Vicar of Colyton, Devon; put in there as Puritan in 1647, and put out as same in 1662.

The dangers and penalties were not small for the transgressors against the fishery laws: £3—about our £30, is it? was the Elizabethan fine. In 1563, the landlady of the *Rose Tavern*, St. Catherine's Hill, was put on the pillory, having had, in her eating-house, meat in Lent. However, the "sale of indulgences" was a ready way out, if not an easy. You could eat flesh, if a peer, on paying 26s. 8d.; if a knight, 13s. 4d.; if a common mortal, 6s. 8d. "Received"—at St. Martin, Outwich—"of the Lady Altham, for the use of the poore, for license to eat flesh in Lent, 13s. 4d."

Wherefore, after all is said, it seems not needful to make that ugly irreverence or pious coarseness called "a good Protestant," out of Kent, "perhaps the nearest to perfect goodness in all Shakespeare's characters."

If he "eat no fish," it may be that he will be, then, just a comfortable fellow, to his mightily-abused master, more sinned against than sinning, sorely needing comfort, in senses old and new, and an enabling of judgment, a strengthening, and even the labouring of the Fool to outjest his heart-struck injuries; with all that, Kent, too, could give (under his forced gaiety), in hope from him, the good and the kind.

But, as the Fool died, so died Kent—heartbroken.

## II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH

**Agreement  
to  
Disagree.**

It would be a singular thing if, as a result of a post-war disagreement about the best method of securing the "fruits of victory," the two chief European allies should each aim at forestalling the other in making an alliance with the common enemy. Yet according to journalists, both French and English, this may not be an unlikely effect of the breakdown of the London Conference. The suggestion is, we think, a good specimen of journalistic impertinence and irresponsibility, but the fact that it could be made is significant of the strain to which the Entente is being subjected. However, the madness of such a breach on a mere question of policy is so apparent that we feel sure that some compromise will be effected. We hope the day is not far distant when both France and England will form an alliance with Germany in the sense that the last is admitted into the League of Nations: but we surely have had enough of partial alliances, the only effect of which is to make war ultimately more certain, and more terrible when it comes.

**How can  
Reparations  
be made!**

The question of reparations is so involved with currency problems that a non-expert must needs keep to generalities in dealing with it. Especially as there has not yet arisen an expert who can present a lucid and comprehensive view of the case, and harmonize the partial and conflicting views expressed by the lesser lights. It seems that the most obvious form of reparation, as far as devastated territory is concerned, would be to employ Germans at their own cost to make good the damage which Germans have done, and we understand that a plan of this sort was agreed upon between Herr Rathenau and M. Loncheur. But here comes in the inevitable difficulty caused by modern industrial conditions. To employ the foreigner in work that could be done by the native is to create unemployment: to give contracts abroad which could be undertaken at home is to depress domestic industry. Even though proposals were made to use materials which are not to be found in France, the French *industriels* would not forgo their opportunities. Reparation, therefore, could not be made by services. What about the only two other methods of compensation—money payment or its equivalent in goods? Reference books show that there is not enough gold coin in the world to pay even half of Germany's debt to the Allies. The United States hold about half the total and the rest is distributed in varying proportion amongst the other nations, Germany having (1920) £52,000,000 to support her £3,682,000,000 paper currency. If coin is exacted, she can only pay in dribblets as it

comes in, a process which would extend compensation over several centuries. Can she give France goods? Not, apparently, without ruining French manufacturers. The impasse seems complete, unless and until German credit is thoroughly restored. And that means making Germany so prosperous that her surplus revenues can meet the colossal claims upon them. In any case it means delay, and France needs help now. Even her ordinary budget does not balance, she looks entirely to reparations to meet her annual charge for restoration and pensions, and she does not attempt to make any provision for the repayment or service of her war-debts. The futility of modern war as a means of aggrandisement could not be better illustrated, nor the desperate extent to which it mortgages the credit of posterity.

**Europe  
depends upon  
U.S.A.**

We can understand, therefore, the resentment caused by the presentation of the Balfour Note at this crisis, and its disastrous effect on the London Conference. Our concern in all these matters of high politics is simply for peace, durable, just, Christian. If such peace can be purchased by wiping out debts, especially debts which cannot be recovered owing to the practical bankruptcy of the debtor, then it is cheap at the price. Even the good will, which must follow a voluntary and formal discharge of such debts, is much more valuable even materially than the retention of the claim. Yet there are those who inveigh against such generosity, as being injurious to our interests, forgetful that the process of attempting the collection of a bad debt is apt to be more expensive than the amount obtainable would justify. At present we "have had the broker in" at Cologne for three years, and what we have got by the occupation hardly pays for its cost. A further and fuller occupation of Germany, such as some propose, would hardly be more productive, for it would intensify the republic's internal difficulties, already great enough, and fan anew the embers of war which it is the aim of all serious statesmen to extinguish.

The only way out of the impasse lies through America. That great country can lend more money to Europe and throw financial life-belts to the various drowning nations. But America rightly enough will not finance more European wars nor stand the cost of their equipment. This sensible attitude practically forces the adoption of the only alternative to war, the League of Nations. It seems probable that if France were to reduce her war budget, facilitate Germany's entry into the League, and herself whole-heartedly join in that Pact of Security, that the sympathy and support not only of America but of the whole world would flow to her immediately. The world wants peace: war, by deranging its profound and delicate economic unity has



shown how real that unity has become: we are now members one of another as never before: art, literature, science—all reflections of the spirit and the mind of man, are becoming the common heritage of all the race. They are, indeed, a poor substitute for "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" which comes from a common and clear religious faith; but a recognition of them will do something to cause a sense of human brotherhood amongst the civilized nations, that change of heart and international outlook which, as we have indicated elsewhere, the stress of conflict created for a time but failed to keep alive. Europe needs America, and so America, who intervened with such effect at the crisis of the war, can intervene more effectively still in this deeper crisis disclosed by the peace, and determine whether Europe shall slip back again into the old grooves of international rivalry, or forswear its old ambitions, forget its old grudges and co-operate in friendship for the common good.

**What America  
did  
in the War.**

It is not commonly remembered that America, so thoroughly did she throw herself into the struggle against militarism, spent some twelve hundred million pounds, almost twice as much as the total German reparation sum fixed at Brussels in January, 1921 (£660,000,000), and yet has asked for no penny of indemnity or any financial or territorial offset. And it should still less be forgotten that American war charities, excluding the current expenditure on Russian relief, total £800,000,000—not very much less than the British debt to America. Although they have become the creditor nation of the world and accumulated an immense gold reserve, they, like ourselves, are in the midst of an acute trade depression, which has its effect in prolonged and disastrous strikes. The mal-distribution of wealth, and the curse of millionaire-dom, which afflicts us in Europe, are still more prevalent in the States. They have their own economic troubles on a scale commensurate with the size of their territory. But the country is solvent and has immense natural wealth. It cannot but be to its interest that Europe should be solvent too. We do not doubt that, given security as to the right use of the money, given some genuine evidence of the repudiation of militarism and diplomatic aggression, of a spirit of co-operation, of sound financial practice, America would not refuse to come generously to our help.

**How Racial  
Hatred  
prevents Peace.**

How hard some people find it to regain their peace psychology is still evidenced in the press and the cinema where war-hatreds are exploited, and was emphasized in the reception which some remarks of the Dean of St. Paul's upon the state of pre-war diplomacy met with from the general public. The Dean, when

addressing the International Peace Conference at the end of July, is reported to have said that "it now seemed to most people" that the nations engaged in the Great War "were all stark mad together"—a strong hyperbole, no doubt, but evidently intended to reflect upon the folly of human governments, which at this period of civilization had not managed to remove the causes of war, and to establish the reign of law internationally. It may be that posterity, studying the remoter sources of the war, may apportion the guilt of it more evenly amongst the combatants, for it resulted from the jealousies that sought security in the Balance of Power and the armament competition. In two magnificent discourses, lately delivered to the American and Canadian Bar respectively, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline pleaded for the widening of the scope of law from national to international relations, and denounced that bastard imperialism, that graceless lust for power, that seeks its selfish ends by force or trickery in disregard of right. The correlative of law is order, and the disorder into which the world has fallen shows how little the majesty and authority of law prevails between the nations.

Unless the Great War [he said at Vancouver] has taught men to abjure the vulgar and false Imperialism of selfish ambition, and to cherish the noble, sane, powerful and consecrated Imperialism of service, distinguishing fair from foul, and foul from fair, law is a dead force and the war has been fought in vain.

Let us hope that our jingo journals which reported this speech may allow their editorials to reflect its Christian spirit. Dean Inge, who rarely touches on Catholic doctrine or the history of the Church without distorting them, showed his usual want of discrimination in stigmatizing all and sundry of the combatants as stark mad: only the imperialists deserved his reproaches. The multitudes in every nation who rushed to the colours, as distinguished from the few who plotted and manœuvred and blundered into hostilities, were inspired by love of country and zeal for justice. They were not mad who thought less of life than of liberty, and died for a high ideal.

**The Premier  
on Fighting  
for Peace.**

In his eloquent appeal to "the Churches" at the end of July, the Premier warned his Non-conformist hearers of the necessity of teaching the young generation, who can know of it only by hearsay, the true character of the war, and of warning them especially of the entire collapse of civilization which must follow any repetition of it. "Lay bare the war remorselessly of its glamour: reveal its hideousness to the eyes of this new generation." He went on to point out that the *sequelæ* of this late war came quite unexpectedly because men had forgotten what fol-

lowed Waterloo: the glory of the fight flashes from the pages of history, but writers say little about "the disorganization of trade and of industry, the difficulty of daily bread, the hundreds of thousands tramping the streets to find some opportunity of finding a living for themselves and children and tramping in vain, the despair that filled the land, the high taxation, the high prices." So unless they are taught coming generations will never know what happened in Europe—"Russia clawing her way out of the pit and sinking deeper into it with every convulsive effort—Germany clinging desperately to the rotten branch of a debased currency." Now is the time to brand, once for all, the folly, the brutality, of war into the conscience of the nation.

"You can do it now. There is the exhaustion of the war: there are men who are tired of war. That will pass away. The hatreds will remain, the suspicions will remain, the ambitions will remain, the greed will remain, the fears will remain, and when these operate on revived and regenerated nerves and muscles, it may be too late then to inculcate the conscience of peace into the multitudes of all lands.

And then the Premier uttered words which, considering the audience to whom they were addressed, showed that he has the courage of his convictions. Before that gathering of Nonconformists he praised Giant Pope.

I am glad [he said] that at the head of the greatest Church in Christendom at the present moment is a man who is a profound believer in peace. He exercises great sway over the consciences of scores of millions in many lands that are vital to the cause of peace, and I rejoice in that fact.

Mr. Lloyd George, when at Genoa, was impressed by the Pope's appeals for peace and his denunciation of the hedge of bayonets ideal of security. Perhaps he will use his influence to have so powerful an advocate represented in the councils of the League of Nations to which, in the same address, he declared himself the devoted adherent.

No one knows better than the Prime Minister what character the next war is likely to assume. Nothing, indeed, is more significant of the blunting of the human conscience by the excesses of the last than the universal assumption that the last shadow of restriction on belligerent frightfulness will be laid aside by every nation. Alarmists are constantly urging the Government to construct huge fleets of aeroplanes. Other nations are supposed to be doing the like; let us not be found napping. What are these machines wanted for? "Keep your eye," says the Premier, "on what is happening. They are constructing more terrible machines than even the late war ever saw. . . . They

**Let War-Planes  
be banned.**

are not to disperse armies. They are to attack cities unarmed, where you have defenceless populations to kill, to maim, to poison, to mutilate, to burn helpless women and children." Here we have the matter in a nut-shell. Owing to the use of the aeroplane for fighting purposes, war in future will be waged upon non-combatants. Why do not non-combatants of every land, who pay for the upkeep of armies, insist on the disuse of the aeroplane for destructive purposes in war? Here is a chance for the peace-loving and sensible at the forthcoming Assembly of the League of Nations. The proposal, which will impose an equal handicap upon the Great Powers, would be an admirable test of their will for peace.

**The Sunday  
Press.**

The men who own our Sunday papers are all of them prominent in the public eye as peers, financiers or devotees of sport. They are looked upon as respectable and decent in their personal behaviour. How is it that they are not more careful that the same qualities should attach to their papers? None of them would care to make his money by selling poison or adulterated goods or any article which injured the health of the public. Why have they little scruple about getting paid for helping, through their papers, to debauch public morals? It is not so much that they collect and print all the garbage of the police-courts and divorce-courts for Sunday consumption. The "many-headed beast" likes provender of the sort. But it is possible to record crime in such a way as to convey detestation of it, or at any rate to avoid treating it with toleration or cynicism or implicit approval. The Sunday papers offend in method more than in matter, and especially in the style of their posters. "An English Girl tells Secrets of the Harem" and "Bottomley, Wine and Women" are recent examples which are mere appeals to prurience. Nothing, moreover, more degrading to journalism has often occurred than the competition between several Sunday papers to supply the most sensational and "spicy" accounts of that unfortunate man's career, his own wife and his intimate friend being hired to perform the task. When we consider how the press, with few exceptions, advertised and flattered Bottomley during the days of his success, this rending of his reputation becomes positively indecent.

**The Late  
Lord  
Northcliffe.**

No reproach on the score of prurience or scandal attaches to the various newspaper enterprises of the late Lord Northcliffe, who, eminent man that he was, remained a journalist first, last and all the time. For what Delane did by mere force of character, Northcliffe, commanding far more powerful resources, often failed to do. He brought to bear upon Mr. Lloyd George, during the war and since, enough weight of journalistic

artillery to have swept away, one would think, whole Cabinets, yet he never succeeded in deflecting the career of that versatile statesman. He gathered capable writers under his standard, but their influence somehow never seemed commensurate with their ability or their efforts. Perhaps he had not the gift of divining and expressing the prevalent thought of the nation, which used to be the boast of *The Times*. Nevertheless under his ownership that great paper retained its ascendancy over its journalistic compeers, and remained, for variety and amount and accuracy, of news, for mere size, for reflection of many-sided interests, the most interesting and influential of English papers. The career of Lord Northcliffe provokes consideration of a state of society, wherein possession of wealth enables a man to acquire through the press such enormous and irresponsible power: it is a phenomenon quite modern in its development, and one about which the State of the future will have to legislate. In Lord Northcliffe's hands that power was on the whole used with restraint, and rarely for merely private ends. His services to the technical side of journalism and his influence on the methods of presenting news were alike immense. And in a sceptical and materialistic age he upheld, according to his lights, the ideals of religion.

**The Work of  
Mr. Arthur  
Griffith.**

Like Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Arthur Griffith, whose death in the very crisis of Ireland's fate all who love peace must deplore, was a journalist, having started even lower in the profession than the peer. But he did not remain a journalist, for he had in him that wide foresight and tenacity of purpose which make the statesman. It was his inspiration that turned the traditional nationalism of Ireland into something more self-reliant and constructive, for he felt that the surest way to win recognition of nationhood was to become, by the development of national resources and culture, fit to function as a nation. His inspiration will survive him, for he lived long enough to see a whole generation become imbued with his ideals, yet it is a tragedy that his wisdom and moderation should be lacking to his country, in the troublous transition period through which she is labouring to perfect nationhood. Still, he lived to see the practical defeat of the criminal attempt to go behind the will of the people and enforce upon them a policy utterly visionary and impracticable. Nothing shows more clearly that the country is against the "irregulars" than the fact that they have no success in the field and that their main exploits are confined to the destruction of property and the harassing of the civilian population. The sole effect of this ill-timed resistance has been to waste their country's slender resources and to cause its enemies to blaspheme. The death of Mr. Griffith will give them no more power.

**The Rebirth  
of  
Buckfast Abbey.**

The solemn re-dedication by Cardinal Bourne of the restored Benedictine Abbey of Buckfast, in Devonshire, is primarily interesting as a step in the Catholic revival, a reversal of the crime committed at the Reformation, a standing refutation of calumny recently repeated by the Protestant Bishop of Croydon that the institution of "a celibate clergy and communal life" was "once abolished because of its evils." It is moreover a wonderful exhibition in this materialistic age of the spirit which covered this land and others with religious fanes of surpassing beauty—not only of the spirit but largely also of the method. A feeble yet promising attempt is being made in our time to revive the ancient Craft-Societies, and there is actually in existence a National Building Guild. But for many years back the Buckfast Benedictines have themselves formed such a Guild and, by their assiduous labour under competent architectural direction, have set their stately Abbey Church, stone by stone, upon its original foundations. The congratulations of Catholic England and of the Catholic world are theirs to-day on the completion of an enterprise of such varied significance.

**G. K. C.  
comes Home.**

Mr. G. K. Chesterton, when he came into the Church the other day, had not far to come. In spirit and sentiment he has long been Catholic: indeed, no writer of our times has done more than he to expose the real *ethos* of Protestantism and to revive the principles that made Catholic England both merry and religious. Even when writing upon secular subjects—the politics of the day, literature, commerce, social abuses—his standard of judgment has always been Catholic truth. He has been styled a mere weaver of paradoxes, and it may be admitted that his style is sometimes over-loaded with verbal contortions, but, beneath the surface play of wit there is always a sound philosophy and a much deeper insight into the great permanent truths of life, joined with a keener zeal for the exposure of fraud and the undoing of injustice, than may be found in a whole library of "social reformers." Rarely have such clearness and subtlety of mind been united with such mastery of language, and we may rejoice that these brilliant and exceptional talents can now be ranked amongst our Catholic assets.

**Catholic Doctors  
condemn  
Malthusianism.**

No one will endorse more heartily than Mr. Chesterton the resolutions passed by the Catholic Guild of St. Luke at Glasgow on occasion of the meeting there of the British Medical Association at the end of July. For these Catholic doctors from every part of the country pronounced an emphatic and reasoned condemnation on two grave modern abuses, one actual, the other mainly prospective, which, as part of the Eugenic programme, he



has consistently attacked—Birth Control and Sterilization of the "Unfit." We need not repeat the reasons for our detestation of these inhuman practices, which are direct violations of God's commandments, but we can express our satisfaction that our Catholic doctors, by their protest, are doing what they can to free their great profession from the reproach of condoning them.

**The  
Snowball  
Prayer Again.**

A body which one does not generally associate with pontifical functions, the English Grand Lodge of Freemasonry, has lately issued a decree against the superstitious practice of circulating "chains-of-luck," or, as they are sometimes called, "Snowball prayers." We ourselves have denounced the practice from time to time,<sup>1</sup> but it seems practically ineradicable. It was included as long ago as 1678 in a list of Apocryphal Indulgences condemned by the Pope, but it flourishes still both inside the Church and without. A correspondence in the Press shows that it is not necessarily confined to those in whom religious emotionalism may be presumed to prevail over intellectual sanity. In the *Saturday Review* for July 22nd a correspondent complains that he has received a chain-of-luck on which, amongst such exotic names as "Carlos Remus" and "Samazuilhs" that of Lord Inverforth, a hard-headed man of business, appears with those of several of his relatives. We ourselves have known a retired Army Colonel not remarkable for religion to be in an agony of apprehension until he had copied out a "snowball prayer" nine times to send, according to prescription, to nine other persons, lest the threatened ill luck should fall upon him! Unless they are to be excused by weakness of intellect Catholics should know that in thus fostering superstition in themselves and others they are sinning against the First Commandment.

**Centenary of  
H. J. Coleridge's  
Birth.**

On September 20, 1822, was born Henry James Coleridge, the founder and, in effect, the first editor of this journal, which fulfils a natural duty of piety in recalling his anniversary. Father Coleridge, who remained as Editor from 1865 to 1881, was an Eton and Oriel man, who became an Anglican clergyman in 1848, and followed Newman into the Church in 1852. Our pages bear testimony to the literary intimacy between the two men, both apostles of the pen and indefatigable workers. But the Jesuit lacked the Oratorian's magic of style, and though his monumental *Life of Our Lord* in twenty volumes remains a storehouse of erudition and piety, and will always be cherished by those who wish to study the inexhaustible riches of Christ, lack of wide popularity has caused it gradually to go out of print. But we may be sure that its effects remain if only in the reward it merited.

THE EDITOR.

<sup>1</sup> See THE MONTH, Feb. 1909, June 1910, June 1915.

### III. NOTES ON THE PRESS

[A summary survey of current periodicals with a view to recording useful articles which 1) expound Catholic doctrine and practice, 2) expose heresy and bigotry, and 3) are of general Catholic interest.]

#### CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

**Communion of Perseverance in Grace** [J. Rickaby, S.J., in *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, August, 1922, p. 248].

**Scapulars, The Various** [P. E. Magennis, O.C.C., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, July, 1922, p. 40].

**Vocations, The Doctrine of Religious** [H. B. Loughnan, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, July, 1922, p. 26].

#### CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

**Anglicanism, Protestant: an Ornaments decision** [*Tablet*, August 19, 1922, p. 228].

**Anglicanism rejected by Orthodox Church** [V. McNabb, O.P., in *Blackfriars*, August, 1922, p. 251; *Tablet*, August 5, 1922, 165].

**Celibacy, Clerical, Final exposure of Italian attack upon** [*Universe*, August 18, 1922, p. 4].

**Jerusalem: authenticity of its Shrines** [G. Kean, C.F., in *Tablet*, August 19, 1922, p. 230].

**Protestant History: Dr. Chevassé's misrepresentation of the case of the Seven Bishops** [B. Holland in *Dublin Review*, July, 1922, p. 15].

**Rome and the Anglicans** [Bernard Holland, C.B., in *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1922, p. 632].

#### POINTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

**Christianity in Pagan Nigeria** [Edward Leen, M.A., D.D., in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1922, p. 11].

**Catholicism in France To-day** [Stephen J. Brown, S.J., *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1922, p. 41].

**Buckfast Abbey: After the Norman Conquest** [Dom John Stephen, O.S.B., in *Chimes*, July, 1922, p. 8 (Special number)].

**Buckfast Abbey** [W. A. S. Hewins, M.A., in *Chimes*, July, 1922, p. 3 (Special number)].

**Education, Mr. Fisher's attack on Secondary Schools** [T. Bridge, S.J., in *Catholic Times*, August 12, 1922, p. 7].

**Liturgy, A Few Thoughts on** [Alan G. McDougall in *Blackfriars*, August, 1922, p. 266].

**Marian Devotion in Greece** [G. D. Meadows in *Catholic World*, August, 1922, p. 668].

**Padroada, The, in India** [H. J. Parker, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, July, 1922, p. 76].

**Ruskin and Catholicism** [H. E. G. Rope, M.A., in *Catholic World*, August, 1922, p. 631].

# REVIEWS

## I.—THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIÆVAL HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

**A**LLOWANCE being made for the drawbacks which inevitably arise from diversity of authorship, the third volume of the *Cambridge Mediæval History* maintains a high standard, and, particularly in the important matter of bibliography, compares favourably with such parallel undertakings as Lavissee's *Histoire Générale*, or Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte*. The present instalment, which, we are told, was all but completed before the outbreak of the war, deals with Germany and the Western Empire and extends from the death of Charlemagne to the Norman Conquest. The volume owes much to the sober directing influence of Dr. J. P. Whitney, upon whom, in consequence of the death of Professor Gwatkin, a heavier editorial responsibility has fallen. Although Dr. Whitney has not contributed any one of the sectional chapters, he has written a short introduction of much value, which greatly helps to set this rather bewildering mass of disparate and confused details in their proper perspective. He shows no wish to belittle the influence of the Church in that work of political and social evolution which is specially characteristic of the period here dealt with. On the contrary, the truths emphasized in the following two passages seem to us to demand recognition from all who would rightly understand the legacy of ideas which Carolingian civilization left behind it, to fashion, or at least to leaven, the Christian world of later centuries:

To the man of practice in those days [writes Dr. Whitney], as to the student of St. Augustine's *City of God*, Christian society was one great whole, within which were many needs, many ends to reach, and many varied things to do. But the society itself was one, and Pope or Monarch, churchman or layman, had to meet its needs, and do its work as best he could. This was something quite unlike the modern theories of Church and State, and it is only by remembering this mediæval conception, which the late Dr. Figgis so well expounded to us, that the course of mediæval history can be rightly understood. Under such a conception, with a scheme arrived at by life, rather than by thought,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III. "Germany and the Western Empire." Cambridge University Press. Pp. xl. 700. Price, 50s. net. 1922.

Pope or Bishop, Abbot or Priest, did secular things with no thought of passing into an alien domain. Emperor or King, Count or Sheriff did not hesitate to undertake, apart, of course, from sanctuary or worship, what would seem to us specially the churchman's task.

All this is as profoundly true as it is commonly forgotten. It is here that we find the explanation of the prayer in the older coronation service, wherein supplication is made that the King "may always walk rightly in the way of Thy righteousness, may nourish and teach, defend and instruct Thy Church and people." The prayer in question, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, which was used as early as the time of Louis the Stammerer (877), appears in the second English coronation order, and was almost certainly imported from Rome or Germany in the days of Otto the Great. Similarly, at Rome itself the Emperor was described as "appointed to rule Thy Holy Church," a phrase which implied neither Erastian tendencies, nor any purpose of investing the monarch with ecclesiastical functions. It simply meant that the Church was made up of the body of the Faithful who were subjects alike of the Emperor and the Pope.

Not less important is Dr. Whitney's brief reference to the fabrications of Pseudo-Isidore, as to which he remarks:

The rapid spread of the False Decretals, in themselves an expression of existing tendencies, rather than an impulse producing them, show us the system in process of growth. Their rapid circulation would have been impossible had they not fitted in with the moods and aspirations of the age. They embodied the idea of the Church's independence and indeed of its moral sovereignty, two conceptions, which when the ecclesiastical and civil powers worked in alliance, helped to mould the Christian West into a coherent society, firmly settled in its older seats and also conquering newer lands.

We are glad, in this connection, to notice that Professor Halphen, who contributes the chapter on "The Church from Charlemagne to Sylvester II.," supplements his observations on the False Decretals by a reference to M. Paul Fournier's articles (p. 453), and admits that when Fournier estimates the influence of the Pseudo-Isidorian code as "practically nothing," his arguments appear to prove his case.

There is so much of varied interest in the twenty-one chapters of this volume, with its little portfolio of maps,

that we must content ourselves with a quite general commendation. Sir Paul Vinogradoff's essay on "Feudalism" will be eagerly read by all, and will not disappoint expectation. The chapters on Anglo-Saxon England by W. J. Corbett also give proof of great mastery of detail, if somewhat dry in expression. In Professor W. R. Lethaby's dissertation on "Byzantine and Romanesque Arts" we are glad to see that he rejects the views of Professor Cook of Yale assigning a very late date to our Anglo-Saxon crosses. Dr. M. R. James has two chapters dealing with the "Learning and Literature" of the period under discussion, which are both full of interest. We thoroughly endorse his admiration for Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., but we are rather puzzled by the commendation he apparently bestows on William of Malmesbury's account of that pontifical scientist. Certainly William had no intention in what he said of paying Gerbert any compliment.

## 2—ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN<sup>1</sup>

MR. NUNN is already well known as the author of *The Elements of New Testament Greek* and *A Short Syntax of New Testament Greek*, useful works designed to help those to a sufficient understanding of the Greek New Testament who have no previous knowledge of the language. We are tempted to regret that he did not entitle his present work *The Elements of New Testament Latin*, for such in the main it is; practically all his examples of constructions are taken from the New Testament, and he has had the advantage of being able to consult one who knows and loves the New Testament Vulgate so well as the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, Dr. White, the editor of the large Oxford edition of the text now in progress. Still, the preface and introduction are useful little treatises on Ecclesiastical Latin as such, and the knowledge of the Vulgate New Testament is probably the best foundation to the study thereof, so that we shall not press our objection, and only wonder whether the author's other works will now become an introduction to Ecclesiastical Greek.

A good series of extracts is given at the end, some of them not without theological importance, though we are surprised

<sup>1</sup> *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. By H. P. V. Nunn, M.A. Cambridge: At the University Press. Pp. xiv. 162. Price, 6s. net. 1922.

not to find any passage from the Vulgate itself. From them the reader will perhaps realize for himself the difficulty of treating Ecclesiastical Latin as really one speech or type of language. We have the biblical and, so to speak, biblicized Latin, the beautiful and clear style of Cyprian and Leo, the turgid obscurity of Tertullian, full of difficult terms, the false rhetoric which spoils so much of St. Augustine's writings, the thoroughly bad Latin of writers who are most useful as showing the tendencies that made the Romance languages, the technical jargon which flourishes all the more when Latin is otherwise dead. Perhaps Mr. Nunn will make his readers think the linguistic unity greater than it is. Still, we think his book will serve well the purpose for which it is intended, and may be of great service to those studying in later life for the priesthood, or to Religious even of the male sex not destined for the priesthood, but who are bound to the use of a Latin office, or who at any rate will derive much profit, spiritual and otherwise, if they be allowed this simple initiation.

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### 3—THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>

WE rise from the perusal of this volume filled with admiration for the man of whom it treats, and with sincere respect for its author, whose industry, sound methods, disinterestedness, and ability in describing divergent views, and pronouncing judiciously on their merits, fill us with complete confidence.

Archbishop Carroll, 1735—1815, was a man for whom this ample work is a fitting memorial. The Life is not a funeral sermon over a moribund cause, but a record of the springing into life of a most vigorous ecclesiastical movement. In 1784, when Carroll was given the reins, Catholics in the States numbered scarcely twenty-five thousands; now the Church there counts seventeen millions, and is growing, organizing, developing, as never before. This restrained and modest narrative begins with Carroll's birth in Maryland during the sleepy eighteenth century. As was then common, he was sent for education to St. Omers with his cousin,

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1735 to 1815.* By Peter Guilday, D.Sc. New York: Encyclopedia Press. Pp. 864. Price, \$5.00 net. 1922.



and thence he joined the English Jesuits, and shared in the romantic migrations of the College to Bruges. When the Society itself was suppressed he returned to Maryland, 1774, but he never withdrew from fidelity to the body of men with whom he had originally thrown in his lot; and, even when raised above the bond of his religious vows, he seems to have had no intimates like the old English Jesuits, who, in their turn, never failed him, as friends, correspondents and agents. Soon after his return came the Declaration of Independence. Nothing can be better than our author's description of the gradual modification of the feeling against England (which originated almost altogether out of "No Popery" fanaticism), until this finally gave place to love of religious liberty. Carroll, while acting in union with his countrymen, always exerted his influence on the side of toleration. He thus became known to the American leaders, and there is little wonder (especially after Carroll had signalized himself in controversy with the ex-Jesuit Wharton), in his having been nominated the first Prefect Apostolic in 1784. This step was ostensibly taken to make good the break, which the Revolution had caused with the English Vicars Apostolic, the official superiors of the Anglo-American Church in earlier days. But in effect it was the first step in the necessarily slow process (here described in much detail) of building up the diocese of Baltimore and making Carroll, in 1789, the Primate of the Church in the United States.

Though this was but a humble post, compared with what it is to-day, under Carroll's excellent guidance, the new Church at once showed the promise of its future greatness. By fine leadership, and the holding of a memorable synod, he soon introduced discipline and ecclesiastical prosperity throughout the land. In nineteen years a full hierarchy was established, with Carroll at its head, and he most efficiently discharged all its duties till his death in 1815. With all this wonderful success he had many crosses and frequent failures, but his optimistic goodness of heart never allowed these things to daunt or check him. In a solemn sermon, when the hierarchy was established, the future Cardinal Cheverus addressed him with the words spoken to Elias, *Currus Israel et auriga eius*. A noble compliment, but one which the integrity of his character and the greatness of his achievement render not undeserved.

J.H.P.

4—CLASSICAL STUDY<sup>1</sup>

THE publication of Father Donovan's second volume of the *Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition* enables us to judge the work as a whole. The first volume was a survey and analysis of Greek prose in the ordinary details of the use of the noun, adjective and adverb. The second volume, giving the remainder of Part I., completes the process with an examination of the verb in its various moods, and a short treatise on prepositions. But perhaps the most valuable portion of this second volume lies in Part II., which takes a broader view of Greek composition and is eminently suitable for the advanced student. As the author says in his introduction, "each chapter . . . constitutes an independent treatise which may be studied separately on its own merits." The chapters embrace such far-reaching, comprehensive, elusive, if you will, but still very definite subjects as the Realism, the Directness, the Lucidity, the Figurative Diction of Greek and Latin. The knowledge of and familiarity with such intricacies of the Greek language tests the worth of the true scholar. Father Donovan proves that he possesses this knowledge, and, what is more, has shown that he can communicate this knowledge to others. To teacher and student alike this *Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition* is invaluable. The student who masters all the examples he finds in the book—or even some of them—will be urged to supplement the collection with others he may find in the course of his own private reading. The professor, too, will find ample matter for making the study of Greek prose intensely interesting. The illustrations given in the book, taken as they are from the best Greek authors and representing the golden age of Greek literature, afford many an opportunity for digressions on Greek art, law, finance. In a word, a versatile master is given, on every page, suggestions which will enable him to arouse the enthusiasm of his pupils, by imparting to them a thorough knowledge of Greek thought, life and civilization. However, this is not the place to enlarge upon so vast a subject. Suffice it to say that Father Donovan's book should be in the hands of all who have the cause of the ancient classics at

<sup>1</sup> *Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition*. Vol. II. By John Donovan, S.J., M.A. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 7s.).

heart. His book should be a strong bulwark to defend the much-attacked citadel of the classics, a rallying-point for all sincere promoters and genuine lovers of the ancient classics of Greece and Rome. It only remains for Father Donovan to complete his work by doing for Latin what he has already done for Greek.

### 5—MORAL THEOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

THE new course of Moral Theology, of which this is the first volume, has been planned and written since the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law. Its author is already well known as a professor and writer on Moral Theology, and he now holds the chair of Moral Theology in the Università Gregoriana at Rome. He is well aware that the times are critical. He knows that Europe is decadent, that Italy, Great Britain and France may fall as sacred Troy and strong-speared Priam's people fell of yore. Yet he writes with cheerfulness and hope. He lives in the Eternal City and he knows that the Church cannot fail. She will always be faithful to her mission whatever befalls, and Father Vermeersch looks forward even to a new golden age of Moral Theology. The golden age of the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century ended in turmoil and strife about Probabilism, Jansenism and heresy. St. Alphonsus brought peace to the Moral Theologians at least, and now under the guidance of the Church we have a common doctrine of Christian morals resting securely on the solid foundation of doctrine provided by St. Thomas and St. Alphonsus.

Much, however, remains to be done if we are to have the new golden age to which Father Vermeersch confidently looks forward. The fundamental principles of rational ethics must be examined anew and presented to the modern world in a way that it can understand and learn to value the superstructure as it has been preserved in the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church. Modern difficulties, not only in private life, but in psychology, politics, economics, and social questions, must be fairly met and answered. Moreover, we must get rid of that shyness in propounding the

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia moralis Principia—Responsa—Consilia*. Vol. I. By A. Vermeersch, S.J. Bruges: Beyaert. Pp. xv. 451. Price, 14.50 francs (wrapper).

principles of Christian perfection which has been too prominent a feature of many books on Moral Theology. The confessor's standard of morals in the confessional is not different from that of Jesus Christ, and the standard of Jesus Christ is set forth in the Sermon on the Mount—"Be ye perfect." The confessor's aim, then, is to advance in perfection himself and to help his penitents to attain it as far as he can. But in this great prudence is required, hence Father Vermeersch's *Consilia*. We heartily wish the book all success.

#### 6—A MYSTIC OF YESTERDAY<sup>1</sup>

THERE are no more marvellous facts of Christian experience than God's continuous revelation of His desire for intimacy with Man's soul, and of His *ability* to be intimate with Man's soul, unless we think of man's unquenchable desire for intimacy with God, his fear and pain when he realizes his soul's loneliness,—and his refusal to believe that God's desire is greater than his own. It is as though man dare not permit himself to believe that Heaven is the "happy ever-after" of the love-story between his own soul and the "Tremendous Lover." With a most foolish and pathetic patience he breaks the fast of his intolerable loneliness every day upon a little kindness which some other creature has offered him; rarely does he fill himself from a whole heart set aside for him; sometimes he looks in old letters for crumbs of comfort, or even imagines himself feasting while he reads how some other man has feasted.

"Ah, no!" he says to one who mentions the love of God. "I know what you mean, but I desire something tangible and most human. I can't look up at the sky because the pain is in my heart. My heart is like an empty well, and it cannot be filled from the sky. It is not a barrel to be filled with rain-water. I want a spring that will bubble up and overflow. Your God is very kind, but I am looking for a lover"; and he goes his way.

To all the saints, and to some sinners, the knowledge of this man and his hunger causes a kind of agony. For of

<sup>1</sup> Sister Benigna Consolata Ferrero. *Religious of the Visitation, B.V.M., of Como, Italy*. Translated by M. S. Pine, Washington, Georgetown Visitation Convent. Pp. 107. Price, 75 cents. *Vade mecum proposed to Religious Souls*. Pp. (smaller format) 122. Price, 40 cents. Same translator.

all heresies this is the most piteous; the two lovers are lost in it as in a mist covering the vast plain of existence,—the God who broke His Heart for love, and the creature whose heart is breaking for lack of it. This is the tragedy of all tragedies. Yet, unless the story of thousands of saints and hundreds of mystics is a lie, the love of God is the only real intimacy, and this in no imaginative and allusive sense, but in experimental reality. All other intimacy is heart *to* heart: the intimacy of God and the loving soul is Heart *in* heart. Loneliness is, after all, a spiritual thing; for in marriage twain may be one flesh, but they can never be one spirit. The soul, unless by faith she gives herself to God, cannot but live in a barren lovelessness which is a very travesty of virginity. A virgin possesses her own soul gloriously, as the root holds the lily,—but the barren soul is her own possession, because no one has ever asked it of her: at least, she has never heard Anyone.

Like a drawn sword, like a challenge to this nameless, shapeless heresy, the revelations of mystic after mystic are given to the world. The continuousness of these revelations, since the Incarnation at least (and some say, before it), is a historical fact. To deal only with the more modern, St. Gertrude, in the thirteenth century, lived years of days that read like pages of painted vellum, glowing with colours that no earthly romance has ever aspired to. Her days were a pageant of the courtesies of Paradise . . . on earth. Glorious, yes; but were they intimate as sweethearting should be? Almost too intimate to be printed. And it was not all a wondrous wooing,—there was the joy of shared common-places as well. Her Lord and Lover found a lost needle for her, and sat and talked by her side when she was ill in bed and could not go to choir. St. Mechtilde, her sister in religion, lived another romance, as equally glorious as it was separate and different from St. Gertrude's. And saint after saint tells the same story: Blessed Henry Suso, Juliana of Norwich, St. Bernard, and St. John of the Cross, to mention only some of the best known. It was no great spiritual Renaissance, nor even a chain of religious volcanoes,—it *is* a life that has never ceased to be lived in the Catholic Church, the life *with* God, the Mystical Life.

And for proof of this, we can offer the Life and Writings (or, more correctly, the Dictated-Writings) of a young Visitandine, whose name, Sister Benigna Consolata Ferrero,

is no more beautiful than her life. The American edition, which we are reviewing, is translated from the Italian, and long and stately words have been used to express as nearly as possible the riches of the original. Our English taste would have told it more simply. But the style adds a certain reverence, perhaps, to the telling, and an impressiveness to the reading of a Life no less spiritually marvellous than that of St. Gertrude or Blessed Henry Suso. Yet this chosen soul was only thirty years old in 1914, and died, two years later, a victim for peace.

She is another of those "little souls" whom Divine Justice has chosen as victims of reparation for the sins of the world. Sister to Thérèse of Lisieux, to Elizabeth of the Trinity, and to all those whose names are hardly known outside their Order. God has been pleased to show forth in her ever new glories of His Sacred Heart.

"Religious soul," she writes, at our Lord's dictation, "thou art my Cyrenean, whom, in My infinite Love, I have chosen that I may lay upon thee the burden which oppresses Me, the burden of My Love, of My Mercy, which is unknown to the world. It will be thy mission to console the infinite love of God, which seeks its solace from its little creature."

More we will not venture to quote. In a smaller book, with the quaint title: *Vade mecum Proposed to Religious Souls by a Pious Author*, Sister Benigna has written down page after page of Divine wooing, not only of her own soul, but a wooing of all those poor, lonely, hidden souls whom the Knight of Bethlehem has never ceased to seek and serve.

Her religious Sisters at Georgetown also supply various memorials of the holy young mystic, excerpts from the larger books, pictures, etc., which should serve to spread, not only her fame, but what that fame is meant to minister to—the love of God.

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#### 7—WHAT IS TRUE IN PANTHEISM<sup>1</sup>

**I**T has been put forward as one of the pleas for Pantheism—the Pantheism, at least, of which Richard Jefferies was the Isaias in the Victorian Age, and for which W. H. Davies played "Poverello" only yesterday—that it is instinctive. The average Englishman (who might well make the same ex-

<sup>1</sup> *L'Hymne de la Vie*. By Chanoine M. de Baets. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. 125. Price, 3.50 fr.



cuse for his besetting idea that the love of Nature is "poetic," and that poetry, and all other forms of art, are a disease) regards it as a deliberate substitute for a conscientious worship of God. Mother Church makes peace between them. She agrees that the worship of the inimitable in Nature—the freshness, the living beauty, the exquisite tenderness of flower and bud—is instinctive and irrepressible; and therefore she teaches that it must be the Divine Will that mankind should worship, not the creation which did not create itself, but the Eternal Mind in whose Thought was the bee and the briar, ever since God promised Himself a human reflection of Himself to love and care for.

No "nature-lover" has said anything so worthy of wondering faith as St. Thomas Aquinas when he declared that it was the vocation of man, midway between angels and beasts, to appreciate Nature with his five senses, and from that experimental knowledge of "all that is made," give God a creature's thanks. Any nature-lover whose mind is even a little at leisure from itself, must find himself wondering what was in the Mind of God when He made the single simplicity of the speedwell, or, it may be, the turquoise, whose colour He so loved that He found it enough for the feathers of the chaffinch also. Meredith asks:

Into the Breast that gave the rose  
Shall my soul, shuddering, fall?

And, to the Christian, there is great peace in those lines, but only because he knows his sins, and knows that they will be mercifully burnt up, like blighted leaves, in the Heart that beats in that Breast. But for the Pantheist, who does not realize the evil that he, among all the lower, ever-obedient creation has done—for him, a hidden terror.

Nature is inscrutable to those who know nothing of God and of His Revelation. She was only sister to Francis of Assisi because of his sonship to God. To the lawless, her secret is written in an unknown script, for she obeys a harmony beyond his understanding. Francis Thompson, guessing the mystical unity of creation from his faith in the mystical union of Christians in Christ, proclaimed:

Thou canst not stir a flower  
Without troubling of a star.

And many, with less reason, have the same instinctive certainty.

Pantheism, then, seeing God in creation, is a glimpse of an infinite truth badly misinterpreted, and, until it sees itself wrong and unwarranted in its identifying God with the work of His hands, it will fail to arouse a full measure of love and will distort that which it excites.

We recommend those who are troubled by the impressionist views of their pantheistic friends, and find them so directionally truthful yet so indirectly immoral, and above all so hard to deal with, to put into their hands this brilliant volume of the Chanoine de Baets. It is a book that we shall only cease to lend when we can no longer deny ourselves the delight of reading it again. It will be a red-letter day for the poet, the "nature-lover" and the mystic when they discover it.

#### 8—MEDIÆVAL INDULGENCES AND SOCIAL LIFE<sup>1</sup>

WE have already, in the earlier part of this number, spoken at some length of Dr. N. Paulus' admirable History of Indulgences during the Middle Ages. But almost concurrently with the publication in Germany of what we must regard as the final *mise-à-point* of the author's lifelong researches, there comes to us from America a translation into English of some very useful articles which Dr. Paulus had previously contributed to periodical literature. Why the translator has not indicated in what German review the articles originally appeared, we are unable to say. It seems to us to be a somewhat regrettable omission. But as to the value of the contents of the book there can be no two opinions. Moreover, the translation is quite readable, and, so far as we can judge without having the original before us, it seems to be accurate and to preserve the footnotes and references which form so essential a feature of Dr. Paulus' scholarly workmanship. The subjects dealt with in this little volume are divided into two sections. The first is concerned with the Indulgences which before the Reformation were freely granted for such ecclesiastical and charitable objects as church-building, hospitals, and the Crusades; the second with social purposes of a more secular character, for example, for the construction of bridges, the repair of highways, trade-guilds, and *monti di pietà*. The outcome of the whole discussion is to show—and it does show

<sup>1</sup> *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages.* By Dr. Nikolaus Paulus. Translated by J. E. Ross. New York: The Devin-Adair Co. Pp. 122. Price, a dollar and a half. 1922.

very convincingly—that though it was upon this aspect of the Indulgence system that the severest censure both of non-Catholic critics like Dr. H. C. Lea, and of some Catholics also, such as A. M. Koeniger, has fallen, there is still a great deal to be said in favour of the real services rendered to social life in those days by the stimulus of spiritual privileges. Speaking even of the ethical side of the extended Jubilee Indulgence, known then in Germany as a "Romfahrt," which was three times granted by Pope Sixtus IV. in favour of the cathedral of St. Vincent at Berne in Switzerland, the Protestant historian Blösch says of the labours of the pious, learned and eloquent priest, who on each occasion was employed to preach the Indulgence, "we are led to the conclusion that this vigorous moral preacher during the short time of his stay exercised an unusual influence, and that he conveyed in no small degree to wider circles of the Bernese that desire for integrity of conduct in public life that had moved the City Council to invite him." The contents of this little book are principally concerned with the latest period of the Middle Ages, that period which is commonly supposed, and not without reason, to have been most prolific in abuses. We shall have therefore to wait until the publication of the second volume of Dr. Paulus' History of Indulgences before we know his final word upon the subjects here treated of. One little criticism regarding Father Ross's translation which occurs to us is that the phrase *a poena et culpa*, which is so entirely technical, should be left in the Latin form, or at any rate should be marked by inverted commas, when rendered, as it is on p. 24, "a full pardon for punishment and guilt."

9—"LES DIEUX S'EN VONT"<sup>1</sup>

WE do not think that Mdlle. Reynès-Monlaur has ever risen to a higher level of inspiration than in her latest story, the title of which we have prefixed to this notice. And yet this is a good deal to say. As the fly-leaf of the volume before us makes known, her first great success, *Le Rayon*, is now in its 114th edition; a second fiction of similar scope, *Après la neuvième Heure*, is in its 73rd edition; while two of her books of a more strictly historical character, which have both been *couronnés par l'Académie française*, to wit *Jérusalem* and *Angélique Arnould*, are respec-

<sup>1</sup> By Mdlle. Reynès-Monlaur. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1922.

tively in their 25th and 13th editions. But, to our taste, this present story dealing with the Christian community in Rome at the close of the first century eclipses all the rest. It is above all conspicuous, especially when one compares it with such similar works of fiction as Wiseman's *Fabiola* or Newman's *Callista*, for its restraint, which gives the impression of an immense reserve of force. Mdle. Monlaur is neither too diffuse nor too declamatory, and she is without *emphase* of any sort. While she sets before us the Christian ideal in its most attractive colours, she at the same time possesses a really scholarly knowledge of the paganism of the period both in its kindlier and in its more repulsive features. The character of Djemel or Miriam is most beautifully drawn. Flavius Clemens, Flavia Domitilla, Pope St. Clement and the Apostle St. John all figure in these pages, and the story follows without any extravagant anachronism the historical data of the period as presented by the Christian traditions commonly received. We already possess an excellent rendering in English from the pen of Madame Arendrup of *Les Paroles secrètes*, one of Mdle. Monlaur's war novels, and we can only hope that the same translator may be induced to give us a version of the present work. But the charm of *Les Dieux s'en vont* is of a very delicate order, and we would rather have no English version at all than see the book spoiled by an incompetent interpreter.

## SHORT NOTICES.

### DEVOTIONAL.

FROM M. Téqui, Paris, we have received many new books and booklets. The Visitation Order has added another publication to its collection of spiritual readings: *Conférences Spirituelles* (7.50 fr.) of Mgr. Chapon, Bishop of Nice. These conferences were taken down by the religious of the Visitation of Orleans, to whom they were given on the chief feasts and fasts of the liturgical year. Other religious houses will be glad to share them. Catholic mothers will find in *Futures Epouses* (Téqui: 5.00 fr.) the wise counsels of M. l'Abbé Charles Grimaud, a Professor of Philosophy, for their elder daughters. It is rarely that a book combines so aptly psychological, physiological and religious teaching on the vocation to married life. Two smaller booklets, *A Jésus par Marie* (Téqui: 3.50 fr.), an essay on the teaching of Blessed Grignon de Montfort by the Abbé Texier, Directeur of the "Reign of Jesus by Mary," and *Paroles d'Encouragement* (Téqui: 2.00 fr.), being extracts from the letters of St. Francis of Sales compiled by M. Ferdinand Million, will both be appreciated by those who would like a pocket-edition of the teaching of either saint. The *Petit Manuel des Congrégations de la Ste Vierge* (Téqui: 1.00 fr.)

is in its third edition, and needs no recommendation. It contains the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception and some excellent counsels for the choice of a state of life.

## BIOGRAPHY.

"A Sister of Notre Dame" has written **A Simple Life of Jesus for His Little Ones** (Sands: 2s. 6d. net). We can find so little to criticize that we will allow ourselves space for this little. We should say that one or two words are above the comprehension of a very small child, and that some words, familiar enough to a Catholic ear, should be explained; such words as "Hosanna" and "Apostles" for instance. Also, we doubt the wisdom of making little or no difference between what is in the Gospels and what is tradition. For the rest we admire it entirely, from the reproductions of famous pictures to the good type and the pleasant green cover.

**Lettres d'un Bleuët** (Téqui: 7.50 fr.), edited by Père Mainage, O.P., tell the story of one who Sœur Thérèse would surely claim as a "brother"; of a French soldier and a Dominican novice who died in the trenches. Such souls as Henri Canoville were the victims whom God inspired to offer themselves in reparation to His Divine Justice for all the evil passions of war. To be a saint in the midst of the mind-shattering horror of modern warfare is to show forth the miracles of the Power that is above nature. In this strange cloister God worked swiftly and made Himself a "profitable servant." We recommend this as a present for the novitiate of any monastery. It is a supernaturally inspiring book.

Many non-Catholics will enjoy a little **Life of St. Francis of Assisi** by Edith K. Harper (Rider: 2s.), although we are afraid that Catholics will hardly find the real Franciscan atmosphere in it. It is charmingly written, but spoilt by one or two faults of a conventional kind. "The old Pagan Nature-Worship was gone and a nominal Christianity went hand in hand with the corruption of the time." Francis Thompson has shown that this "old Pagan Nature-Worship" was itself a myth, and that the service of Pan was not the innocent flowery imagination of modern dreamers. And a slight study of twelfth century spirituality will quickly prove that the Christianity of that time was more than nominal. We wish that non-Catholics could understand that what seems to them to have been a life of joyful poetry, was, in reality, the life of one who beggared himself of all that was light and easy, and suffered weariness, hunger, loneliness, and every agony of soul, that he might die of love, crucified by his Crucified Lord. He was a poet because he was a great lover; but because he loved much, he suffered superhumanly, and never thought that the world he scorned would come to admire him. Apart from this criticism, we congratulate Miss Harper on her story.

## VERSE.

From the Vine Press, Steyning, we have received some **Songs of a Sussex Tramp** (5s.), by Rupert Croft-Cooke. The writer has a very admirable command of metre, and we have found it pleasant to be swung from verse to verse without a hitch. Any dogmas that are briefly dismissed in the words, are not so often missing in the ultimate intention of these breezy poems. The type is good to the eye, if somewhat too conventional for the verse; the Vine Press paper is always worthy of a reviewer's appreciation.

## HISTORICAL.

For the historical shelf, **Leaders of a Forlorn Hope**, by Madame E. A. Forbes (Sands: 6s.), will be a most welcome addition. It takes its name from Chesterton's saying that "There is no real hope that has not once been a forlorn hope," and it deals with the Reformation in Scotland. Catholic studies of this subject in its relation to Scotland are sufficiently rare to give this book freshness and interest. Cardinal Beton, Mary of Guise, Archbishop Hamilton—these and others are studied, not only with most scholarly care, but with pleasant insight and both tenderness and humour. A weight of learning has gone to make up this book, but it has been wielded with a light hand.

**La Renaissance Catholique en France au VII<sup>e</sup> Siècle** (Picard: 7.50 fr.), by M. le Chanoine Louis Prunel, Vice Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, is our ideal of an historical text-book. Its employment is made simple by the use of different types and by the judicious use of numbered paragraphs. We heartily recommend this book. It is the work of a well-known theologian and historian, and will add to the credit of the author of the "Cours Supérieur de Religion," which was crowned by the French Academy.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

**L'Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Technique**, by A. Vierendeel (Vromant: 12.00 fr.), in two slender volumes, has been written, not for those versed in the technicalities of Industry, as might be imagined, but for the general public; and it may be added that they will be found unusually interesting to anyone with a slight knowledge of mathematics.

## MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

From La Bonne Presse, Paris, we have received two new numbers of their series of **Romans Populaires**, useful publications, light to handle, and priced only sixty centimes. They have also published another pamphlet of the series of the "Cours supérieur de Religion," **L'Institution Divine de L'Eglise**, by the Abbé Duplessy, which is clear and forcible and well arranged. (75 centimes.)

The following numbers of **The Catholic Mind** contain reprints of articles and speeches of especial interest to Catholics in America and in Europe. In Number XIV. of Vol. XX. there is: "A Call for Intellectual Leaders" and "The Four Loyalties," the latter a speech made to the girl graduates of a Vincentian College in America. Number XV. has two essays of general interest, "The Cult of Psychoanalysis" and "Catholicism and Culture." This periodical is issued by the America Press, New York (5 cents, semi-monthly) and it deserves a place on the table of every Catholic library.

Three new twopenny pamphlets from the Catholic Truth Society witness to their steady output of literature. Mr. Robert Noble has written a short life of **Lister Drummond, K.S.G., Barrister-at-Law**, to which gracious story he has given the advantages of his pleasant style. **The Doctrine of Self-Discipline**, by Dom Justin McCann, M.A., is a vigorous subject, and the writing is vigorous yet simple. It should prove very popular. But perhaps, without seeming invidious, we may say that the third pamphlet, **Confession and Communion Prayers for Children**, is the one to which we would draw most special attention. It has been printed in large type, and every other page has an excellent reproduc-



tion of some holy picture beloved of children. This should make it a great favourite.

Protestantism in France is not much in vogue, but those who wish to find some pamphlets of French controversy should read **Les Faux Christs du Protestantisme, Protestants, Catholiques, and Les Faux Prophetes du Protestantisme**, by the Ex-capitaine Magniez (Taffin-Lefort, Paris: 1 fr., 2 fr., and 1 fr. respectively). The facts therein are well arranged.

We heartily recommend **Short Instructions on the Mass for Children** (reprinted from *The Sower*, Droitwich: Price 4d.). The booklet is well printed, and the green cover with the inspiring picture of the Mass makes the exterior no less attractive than the subject matter, of which we have no criticism to make. It is an effort that has succeeded.

Anyone wishing to know the state of **Hungary of To-Day** should read a memorandum redacted by various Hungarian National Societies (Royal University Press, Budapest). It deals exhaustively with the recourses and with the difficulties of Hungary. **The Hungarian Nation** (Zeidler, Budapest: 10s. per annum) is also full of information of interest to friends of this unhappy country, knowledge being the food of sympathy.

F. A. D'Cruz, K.S.G., sends us his brochure on the Tradition of **St. Thomas the Apostle, in India** (Premier Press, Madras: Cloth, Re. 1.8; paper, Re. 1). We recommend this plentifully-illustrated and most interesting publication.

Also from India we have received **A Talk on Co-operation with Missionaries**, by Father Cyrius Mattam (St. Thomas' Publishing Society, Travancore: 2d.). We hope that this modest and homely little work may touch the hearts—and the pockets—of many. The "Hymn for Heathen Little Ones" is alone worth more than the price of the booklet.

**Sidelights on a Pilgrimage to Lourdes**, by Miss Marguerite Fedden (published for the Catholic Truth Society: 3d.) is a delightful pamphlet in which there is much of the real atmosphere of Lourdes, and, in addition, many little characteristics of the people and the *pays* are recounted with a happy touch. A most graphic pilgrimage for the arm-chair traveller.

The Society of SS. Peter and Paul have produced a small book of **Sonnets of the Cross**, by Thomas S. Jones, Jnr. (1s.), austere bound in a black cover with white lettering. The sonnets are musical and devotional, and the booklet is pleasant to handle and read.

The **Catalogue Methodique des Sciences Religieuses** of the *Librarie des Jeunes* (Editions de la Revue des Jeunes, Paris) costs only two francs, and will be very useful to lovers of French spiritual reading. It comprises lists of books on every Catholic subject, all clearly and well arranged. We should advise many of our readers to send for this catalogue, as they will find it invaluable when choosing gift-books or text-books for their own study.

The **Bexhill Library Catalogue** is now obtainable from Bexhill or from the Reading Room of the Catholic Truth Society, price 3s. 6d. net. In looking for any special book it would be hard to miss it, so carefully is this catalogue cross-referenced. The Bexhill Library is now a household word, and its catalogue should be a household possession. There are sections devoted to Archæology, Architecture, Music, Biography, Controversy, Devotion, Economics, Education, Fiction, History, etc., etc. It brings the best books on every subject within the reach of everyone.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

### FROM THE AUTHOR.

*Sidelights on a Pilgrimage to Lourdes.*  
By M. Fedden. Price, 3d.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, London.  
*Several Twopenny Pamphlets.*

DANIEL, London.

*Christ and the New Age.* Edited by  
G. Leopold. Pp. 200. Price, 5s.  
net.

GABALDA, Paris.

*Saint Jean-Baptiste.* By Rev. D.  
Buzy. Pp. xii. 412. Price, 8.50  
fr. net. *Évangile selon S. Marc.*  
By Père Lagrange, O.P. Pp. xiv.  
178. Price, 4.00 fr. net.

GEORGETOWN VISITATION CONVENT,  
Washington.

*Sister Benigna Consolata Ferrero.*  
Translated by M. S. Pine. Pp.  
108. Price, 75 c. *Vade mecum*  
*for Religious Souls.* Pp. 122.  
Price, 40 c. *Flowers of Paradise.*  
I. II. Price, \$4.00 a 100.

HERDER, Freiburg.

I. H. Newmans Christentum. By  
Erich Przywara, S.J. and Otto  
Karrer, S.J. "Advent" (M 19),  
"Fülle der Zeiten" (M 19),  
"Glauben" (M 22); "Einführung  
in Newmans Wesen und Werk."  
*Vom Himmelreich der Seele.* By  
Erich Przywara, S.J. "Geist"  
(M 12), "Ernst" (M 17),  
"Barmherzigkeit" (M 19).  
*Luthers Kampfbilder.* By H.  
Grisar, S.J. and J. Heege, S.J.  
Pp. xii. 56. Price, 28 m. *Luthers*  
*Preislied "Ein feste Burg."* By  
H. Grisar. Pp. viii. 58. Price,  
25 m. *Gott und die Welt.* By  
F. Lippert, S.J. Pp. vi. 160.  
Price, 30 m. *Des Hl. Ignatius*  
*Geistliche Briefe.* Translated by  
O. Karrer, S.J. Pp. viii. 300.  
Price, 34 m. *Führer durch die*  
*Katholische Kirchenmusik der gegen-*  
*wart.* By W. Weisel. Pp. xii. 108.  
Price, 40 m. *Katholik und*  
*Katholische Kirche.* By V. Cathrein,  
Pp. xiv. 364. Price, 66 m.

FLON, NOURRIT ET CIE., Paris.

*Le Saint-Siège et la Russie 1814-1847.*  
Pp. xv. 580. Price, 20.00 fr.

PREMIER PRESS, Madras.

*St. Thomas, Apostle of India.* By  
F. A. d'Cruz, K.S.G. Pp. 70.  
Price, 1 rupee.

RAUCH, Morsbach.

*Thomas von Sutton, O.P.* By Franz  
Pelster, S.J. Pp. 200. Price,  
20 m.

REVUE DES JEUNES, Paris.

*Jeux et Miracles pour le Peuple fidèle.*  
By H. Ghéon. Pp. 412. Price,  
8.00 fr.

TÉQUI, Paris.

*Conférences Spirituelles.* By Mgr.  
Chapon. Pp. 430. Price, 7.50 fr.  
*Futures Epouses.* By Abbé C.  
Grimauld. Pp. 328. Price, 5.00 fr.  
*Petit Manuel de Congrégations,*  
*B.V.M.* Pp. 70. Price, 1.00 fr.  
*A Jésus par Marie.* By Abbé J.-  
M. Texier. Pp. 410. Price, 3.50  
fr. *Explication du Petit Office,*  
*B.V.M.* By R. R. C. Willi. Pp.  
315. *Paroles d'Encouragement.* By  
Père F. Million. Pp. 238.  
Price, 2 fr. *O Femmes!* By G.  
Joannes. Pp. 112. Price, 3.75  
fr. *L'Abbé J.-B. Debrabant.* By  
Mgr. Lavielle. Pp. 418. Price,  
10 fr. *Hier et Demain.* By A.  
Lugan. Pp. 78. Price, 1.25 fr.

"THE SOWER," Droitwich.

*Short Instructions on the Mass.* Pp.  
46. Price, 4d.

THE KENNY PRESS, Dublin.

*Benedictionale.* Edited by Rev. J.  
B. O'Connell. Pp. 81.

VINE PRESS, STEYNING.

*Songs of a Sussex Tramp.* By R.  
Croft-Cooke. Pp. xii. 24. Price,  
5s. net.

"VITA E PENSIERO," Milan.

*Sulla Riforma del Codice Penale*  
*Italiano.* Pp. 45. *La Storia*  
*dell' Azione Cattolica in Italia.*  
By Rev. Fr. Olgiati. 2nd Edit.  
Pp. 104. Price, 5 l. *La Filo-*  
*sosia di Giovanni Gentile.* By E.  
Chiocchetti, O.F.M. Pp. 480.  
Price, 15 l. *La Teoria della*  
*Relatività.* By G. Gianfranceschi.  
Pp. 64. Price, 5 l. *Il Galetto*  
*del Parrocho.* By Dr. T. Patrini.  
Pp. 80. Price, 2.50 l. *L'Immor-*  
*talità dell' Anima Umana.* Trans-  
lated by G. Schio, S.J. Pp. 256.  
Price, 5 l. *S. Margherita M.*  
*Alacogue.* By Emilia Henrior,  
2nd Edit. Pp. viii. 314. Price,  
6 l. *La Crisi Attuale della*  
*Filosofia del Diritto.* By G. B.  
Biavaschi. 2nd Edit. Pp. 386.  
Price, 40 l.

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